The transmitting of culture: A comparative study of eight teachers in England and China

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THE TRANSMITTING OF CULTURE: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF EIGHT TEACHERS IN ENGLAND AND CHINA

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ABSTRACT

This thesis presents an ethnographic comparative study of cultural values as observed in classrooms in England and China, and contributes to the discussion, in particular examining the process of cultural transmission, conservation and revitalisation.

With a sample of four primary school teachers from each country, qualitative methods of semi-structured interview and classroom observation have been adopted to collect data that was needed to address the main research questions: *What cultural values are transmitted in classrooms? How are cultural values transmitted?*

The systematic analysis of the data collected through the qualitative methods, coupled with the analysis of official documents obtained during the field work, has revealed that in respect of transmission of culture concerning the *content*, *process* and *context* there exist significant similarities and differences between the two different cultural small-scale settings, where the four major themes of cultural values - *individualism, a sense of responsibility, social awareness* and *effort* - were found prominently embodied in the classroom practice of the English teachers, and the four values of *collectivism, a sense of responsibility, social awareness* and *achievement* in the teaching of the Chinese teachers. The teachers in both countries were found to have both explicitly and implicitly transmitted cultural values in three observable modes – relying on shared known codes, setting up specific activities and using people as living examples.

Given that in the literature there is a lack of clarity of what and how cultural values are being transmitted in the classroom, this research makes its contributions to the body of knowledge by helping to bridge this gap, and has considerable significance for teaching and learning in both countries.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

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1.0 Introduction

This chapter starts with a brief introduction to this research. It discusses the rationale and anticipated problems as well as the development of the research questions to be addressed in this thesis. My personal background in relation to this research is elaborated in some detail before it comes to an examination of the comparative context, in which this research has been made possible.

1.1 About the research

This is an ethnographic comparative study of culture. The focus of this research is directed towards the transmission of cultural values in schools in England and China, exploring the salient content of cultural social values that are transmitted by the teachers, and determining the strategies and methods that are used in the process of transmitting cultural social values in the primary classroom practice. Everything in school can count as 'culture', and cultural values include social values and academic values. This research focuses on the former.

For the purpose of this research a sample of 4 primary school Year 6 classes from each country was drawn from both urban and rural areas in equal proportions. The data was collected from three sources of transcription of interviews, classroom observation and field notes, and official documents to create a triangulation effect. The comparative aspect is demonstrated both through intra-cultural comparison between the four subject

schools, and inter-cultural comparison between the two countries. There is thus comparison among the eight schools in general. We have also compared two individual schools in each country to provide a particular example.

The broad aim of the study was to carry out a comparative study of an aspect of culture, namely social values, as practised in teaching in England and China. The specific objectives were to identify what were the salient aspects of culture dealt with by teachers in a small group of schools, and to determine how teachers transmitted these aspects of culture through classroom teaching and learning. For the need of identities, 'E-School' and 'C-School' are thus used to refer to 'English School' and 'Chinese School' respectively.

1.2 The rationale

Underpinning the reason is the question of what role the school plays in the process of cultural transmission? The curriculum offered in schools applies to the world outside school in both countries, and implicitly and explicitly can be said to express cultural aims. Yet this area is not foregrounded within countries. Schools seem to be valued more in terms of their success in other areas - examination results, pupil cognitive progress, financial efficiency - than in the more fundamental area of cultural transmission. Planel (1997) points out in English and French contexts that governments are increasingly concerned with the cost effectiveness of educational systems. National and international assessment is used to measure and compare the 'input' and 'output' or pupil achievement, both within and across systems.

As far as the two countries in this study are concerned, league tables within the countries are similarly the typical comparative and competitive means applied in school assessment of achievement. In England publicising the league tables is an annual event. In China at the end of each school term, teachers announce everyone's examination result in each subject in class, and names of children are then listed in the order of their total grades. Parents are also informed of their children's exam results and places on the list. Classes of the same year group within the school are then arranged in the order of the average total results of all subject examinations. Interschool comparisons are made to create key schools, which are locally known as top quality schools, based on the proportion of children entering top quality lower secondary schools (although a new policy has already taken effect that primary children do not take examinations to enter nearest secondary schools).

The 1967 Plowden Reports has been much quoted as stating 'A school is not merely a teaching shop; it must transmit attitudes and values' (CACE, 1967). Alexander (2000) holds a relatively positive view on this issue and argues that schools do of necessity transmit attitudes and values, but not because they have a moral obligation to do so over and above an ostensibly separate activity called 'teaching', but because teaching is itself about the transmission of values. However by the 1990s, Alexander continues, these values had given way to the nostrums of school effectiveness (Alexander, 2000:175).

The real-life problems of morality may have become common phenomena and have been laid clearly before the people of the modern world. A recent series of gun battles on American school campus and the Australian forest arson, drug abuse and other sorts of

juvenile crimes around the world have already sounded a warning alerting the world's attention to the need for strengthening values education to youngsters. In terms of the two countries in question, moral values problems also do not seem to be rare. The new generation from the one-child Chinese families has created an only-child phenomenon, which is characteristic of self-centredness and selfishness. These children have the peculiar characteristics of their generation. On the one hand, there is a lack of social awareness; on the other hand, these children are too dependent on others to look after their daily life.

Quoting the final report of an advisory group on education for citizenship in England, Spencer (1998) notes that there are worrying levels of apathy, ignorance and cynicism about political and public life and also involvement in neighbourhood and community affairs. Young people in England are described by Cassidy, quoting Mr David Blunkett, the then Secretary for Education as 'far less politically aware than their contemporaries in other countries.' So compulsory citizenship lessons have to be introduced to transform disaffected youth into 'informed and responsible members of society.' (Cassidy, 1999). It is also evident from the media that there is hooliganism in sport among some youngsters in England, which has drawn much attention of the public.

To tackle these cultural problems, schools can be expected to take some responsibility for values education for children and also to be aware of the nature of dynamics and diversity of cultures. Teachers are expected to play their role in the transmission of culture not only as transmitters but as reinforcers, mediators, and constructors. UNESCO publications,

particularly 'The Futures of Culture' (1994) and 'Our Creative Diversity'(1995), draw fresh attention to the problem of cultural transmission in schools. Perez de Cuellar writes:

...development efforts have often failed because the importance of the human factors - that complex web of relationships and beliefs, values and motivations, which lie at the very heart of a culture - had been underestimated.

(UNESCO, 1995:7)

De Cuellar goes on to argue that economic criteria alone cannot provide a programme for human dignity and well-being. New questions must be asked about how development is affected by cultural and socio-cultural factors, how valuable elements of traditional culture may be combined with modernisation and what the cultural dimensions of individual and collective well-being may be: 'Culture shapes all our thinking, imagining and behaviour. It is the transmission of behaviour as well as a dynamic source for change, creativity, freedom and the awakening of innovative opportunities' (UNESCO, 1995:11). Here then there is an emphasis on social cultural values which is the aspect of culture chosen for this research.

Cultures are neither isolated nor static. They interact and evolve. Rapid change presents new challenges for the conservation and revitalisation of cultural heritage. The major challenge facing individuals and communities in a rapidly changing world is that of promoting and adjusting to reasonable change without denying the valuable elements in their culture. UNESCO's 1995 World Commission on Culture and Development announced a programme of action, the first element of which is to

Enhance and develop the discussion and analysis of culture and development.

(UNESCO, 1995:18)

It is encouraging that the governments of the two countries in this study have taken active measures to enhance the construction of cultural values. In England citizenship education has become a statutory subject in secondary schools commencing in 2002, which, according to the final report of an advisory group on education for citizenship, identifies three main strands: social and moral responsibility, community involvement; and political literacy. While students from Year 7 start the subject in 2002, the subject also covers personal, social and health education at primary level.

In China, apart from the subject of Morality Education from primary level, CCCPC (the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China) (2001) launched a nation-wide campaign calling for the construction of morality for citizens, which specifies the twenty-Chinese-word moral code - *Ai guo shou fa, ming li cheng xin, tuan jie you shan, qin jian zi qiang, jing ye feng xian* (patriotic and law-abiding, courteous and honest, united and friendly, industrious and self-improving, and committed and devoted), and the five-love basic requirements - love of the motherland, love of the people, love of labour, love of science and love of socialism. This nation-wide campaign is launched in the wake of the seriousness of various social problems, which have been identified by the CCCPC (2001): 'in some spheres of the society, confusion between right and wrong, between kindness and evil, between beauty and ugliness; failure to keep faith; and people on the make and on the take as well as degenerateness.' (p3). On the other hand as a nation-wide programme, this code is expected to help reinforce the cultural values transmission in school as it is hoped in England that secondary citizenship lessons will transform the attitudes of young people who had been shown to be far less politically aware than their contemporaries in other countries.

It is under these circumstances, with these national backgrounds of the two countries that this research is undertaken. It is hoped that through this research on what and how certain cultural values are transmitted by the teachers, we will be able to shed new light on the understanding of cultures, classroom interaction, namely, the teaching and learning, and the role the teachers play in cultural transmission.

1.3 Developing the research questions

The research questions addressed are as follows:

1). *What cultural values are transmitted in the classroom?*

2). *How are these cultural values transmitted?*

The research questions in their current form have been through a process of development. It is understood that at the heart of any research is the researcher's desire to tackle a question, which is considered important. At the earliest stage of working on the proposal for this research, the proposed question that had occurred to my mind and was later decided on based on some preliminary reading of related research in the literature was:

To what extent do teachers in England and China perceive themselves as transmitting culture in their classroom practice?

It was with this question that I started this PhD study. Through a reading of literature, more challenging questions emerged. I decided to investigate what was happening in the classroom rather than just looking at teachers' perceptions of their own role in

transmitting culture, and to use an ethnographic study for this investigation. Later on the question was modified into this question:

What priorities emerge in the culture that teachers transmit?

As culture is too broad a topic, it had to be one aspect of culture that was researched. *Cultural values* were located later as the aspect of culture to look at. During the fieldwork stage, data was collected concerning what the teachers said and what they did in the classroom. The analysis of the data collected in England and China revealed more than expected. One important element emerged from the data, namely, the outstanding 'how' of transmission – the methods and strategies that the teachers both consciously and unconsciously applied in the process of transmitting cultural values. This aspect was seen as a gap in the literature, which had already been consulted in pursuing this area. This research is thus able to offer a significant contribution to the body of current knowledge. The research questions were thus altered, developed and finalised to appear as they are now given at the beginning of this section.

1.4 Personal background

In terms of my own suitability for this research and the development of the research questions, my background is as follows:

I started my educational career in 1978 teaching English in a secondary school in China. Three years later in 1981 I began my first degree studies majoring in English in a teachers' college, where after graduation I was recruited as a teacher trainer teaching the subject of English. In 1995, with an experience of teaching English at tertiary level for

ten years and three years' experience of management of teaching affairs as Deputy Head of the Foreign Language Department, I came to England for MEd studies in TEFL at the Graduate School of Education University of Bristol. Following on the MEd, I stayed for studies in Educational Management in the Graduate School of Education under the supervision of Dr Bob Smith. In a meeting we discussed issues in a society of diverse cultures from educational policy to basic education and to teacher education programme and the question arose as a result of that meeting: 'Do our current teacher education programmes prepare our teachers, both pre-service and in-service, for their role as transmitters of culture?' Then this question became the embryonic form of the research questions now to be addressed in this thesis.

From a personal point of view, I have experience of both English and Chinese systems of education. In terms of the Chinese experience of education, apart from the experience at primary, secondary and tertiary levels, I have experienced teaching at secondary (3 years) and tertiary (10 years) levels. In England, I have been in higher education since 1995. I also have had experience of teaching GCSE and A Level students at Clifton College, Bristol and teaching adult learners at the City of Bristol College. In respect of primary and also secondary education experience, I have been much involved in these two sectors because my elder daughter started school from Year 2 till September 2001 when she started her secondary school in Bristol. So directly and indirectly I have got to know about the basic education in England to some extent, and it can be said that even before I thought about doing this research, I had already had a 'comparative' viewpoint and had talked about the two education systems among Chinese friends here and communicated with family members and friends and colleagues back in China. .

However, that limited knowledge and experience of the English education, especially that of the primary education, is no more than something at a very basic level and in very general terms. Strictly speaking, I was more a layman when I first embarked on this research although my previous experience of the English primary education was helpful.

1.5 The comparative educational and school context of the research

This part of the section will generally review the educational background in both countries, and the two education systems will also be looked at from a comparative perspective.

1.5.1 Primary education in England

- Legislative framework

The primary education system in England is influenced by a series of complex Acts of Parliament and Statutory Instruments, notably the 1944 Education Act (The Butler Act), the Plowden Report of 1967, the Education Reform Act 1988 and the 1997-1999 National Curriculum Review, all of which played an influential role in the history of the English education system (see Figure 1. 1, photocopied from Alexander, 2000).

The Butler Act set the pattern for schooling as it exists today in England. It established itself as a milestone in the developmental history of the English education system by requiring all local education authorities to provide, according to pupils' 'ages, abilities and aptitudes', free and compulsory secondary education and religious education in all

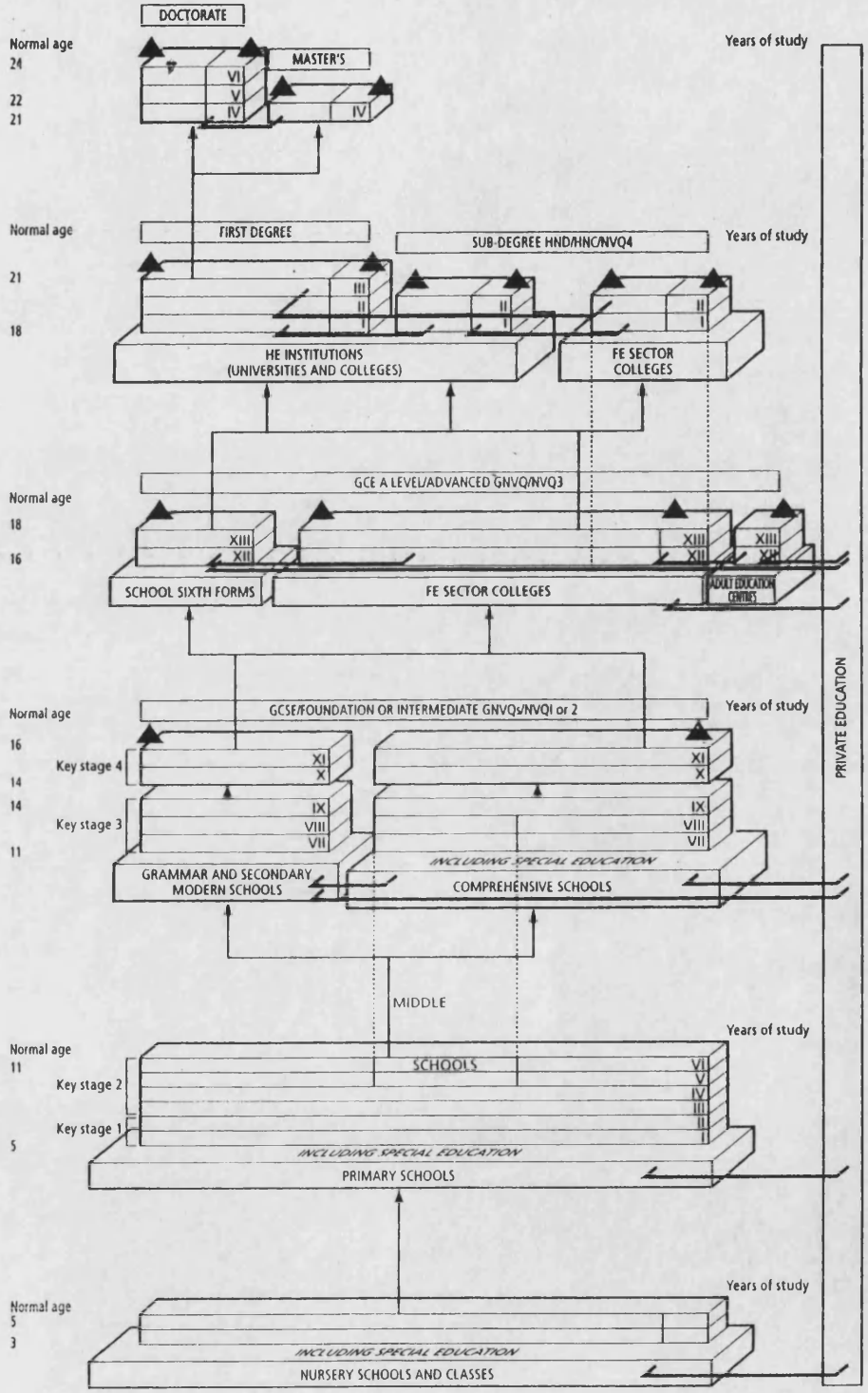


Figure 1.1 The education system in England. Adapted from *Education at a Glance: OECD Indicators 1996*. Copyright OECD, 1996.

schools. It was broadly accepted in the 1940s and the 1950s that children should be selected for three kinds of schools – grammar, modern and technical, on the basis of tests at the age of 11, in order for the children to achieve the required abilities.

The Plowden Report, *Children and Their Primary Schools*, gave a "major impetus to the emergence of 'child-centred education'" (Broadfoot, Osborn, et al., 2000:41), and through the introduction of comprehensive secondary schools, set primary schools free from the constraint of the 11+ selection examination for secondary schools (Broadfoot and Osborn, 1993:29). Alexander (2000) quotes CACE (1967), in referring to Plowden's confident tone for support for its version of primary education: 'a school is a community in which children learn to live first and foremost as children and not as future adults', featuring for the primary school, as Alexander summed up, 'child-centredness, school as a micro-community, individualisation, learning by discovery and experience, the preference for a seamless, integrated curriculum over traditional subjects, creativity, and the learning potential of play' (Alexander, 2000:140).

The Education Reform Act 1988 completely changed school teaching with the introduction of the National Curriculum, which significantly brought about centralised control of the English education system from its 'decentralised nature' (O'Donnell et al., 1999, quoted by Alexander, 2000:122). The pre-specified attainment targets in each of the National Curriculum defined core and function subjects, as Broadfoot and Osborn describe, are the focus for a national assessment framework which incorporates formal assessment and reporting procedures at four 'key' stages: 7, 11, 14 and 16 years. The

results are reported in detail to parents and aggregated across classes and schools by league tables. (Broadfoot and Osborn, 1993:30).

The 1997-1999 National Curriculum Review made a further change by introducing citizenship education. This will become statutory at Key Stage 3 from August 2002, but neither citizenship education nor the teaching of a foreign language is obligatory at the primary stage. For pupils aged 5-11, citizenship education is wrapped up within a non-statutory framework for 'personal, social and health education and citizenship', most of which is to be achieved by permeating other subjects (DfEE/QCA, 1999, quoted by Alexander, 2000:126).

- The provision of primary education

State maintained schools are the main providers of the compulsory element of education in England. LEAs provide pre-compulsory under 5s education in the form of places at nursery schools or classes attached to, or reception classes in, primary schools. England has been complicated in terms of the diversity of schools including county schools, voluntary aided, voluntary controlled and special agreement schools, church schools, Grant Maintained (GM) Schools, Special Schools, Pupil Referral Units (PRUs) and independent schools that existed. In 1998, as Wise, et al. (2001) explain, the Labour Government instituted the School Standards and Framework Act which abolished Grant Maintained (GM) schools and introduced three new categories of state school – community, voluntary and foundation, which continued to allow for diversity. We should also mention the differentiation in size, age, range, location, population, buildings, resources, staffing, traditions, etc.

- Responsibility for the State Education System

The government minister with overall responsibility for education is the Secretary of State for Education and Employment, who heads the Department for Education and Skills (DfES), formerly the Department for Education and Employment (DfEE), established in July 1995. The DfES's main roles are to set the framework of the education system, establish national education policies; work with other central and local Government bodies and the churches in the implementation of those policies; provide funds for those non-Departmental Public Bodies (NDPBs) and other bodies it is responsible for; and to administer the statutory framework that governs the education system. Other influential agencies include: the Inspectorate, the Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED) established in 1992, headed by Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Schools (HMCI); the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) established in 1997; the Teacher Training Agency (TTA) established in 1994; Local Education authorities (LEAs); and voluntary organisations including the churches, governing bodies, headteachers, parents and teachers. (Broadfoot, Osborn, et al., 2000:41).

- Number of institutions, pupils and staff

At the time of the schools census (January 1994) there were 18,683 maintained primary schools including 11,983 county schools, 2,771 voluntary controlled schools, 3,669 voluntary aided schools, and 260 GM schools, providing full-time education for 3,944,635 pupils. Class sizes range from over 30 to over 40, though in 1997 Labour government pledged to reduce class sizes for 5-7 year olds to no more than 30. In 1998 the number of schools had fallen to 18,230 (a fall of 2.4 %) and the number of full-time pupils had risen to 4,109,624 (a rise of 4.2%). There were about 83,000 more boys than

girls receiving full-time primary education in 1998. The number of pupils aged between 5 and 10 attending independent schools rose from 185,200 in 1994 to 198,300 in 1998. In percentage terms this has remained virtually static, at around 5% of the pupil population. (OFSTED, 1999).

There are 181,394 full-time equivalent qualified teachers in England in 1998. Ten per cent of those teachers are headteachers. There are considerably more women teachers than men teachers: 152,764 women in 1998, compared with 28,630 men. In other words, only 16% of teachers in primary schools are men. Furthermore, the number of male teachers has fallen by 2,000 over the period from 1994 to 1998, and has continued until recently to decline as a proportion of the teaching force. The major change in staffing over the four years has been in education support staff. Numbers have increased by about 40%, from 41,117 in 1994 to 58,055 in 1998 (OFSTED, 1999).

- The National Curriculum

The National Curriculum is at the heart of the drive to improve standards in school. It was established by the Education Reform Act 1988 to provide a minimum entitlement for pupils in maintained schools of compulsory school age and sets a series of demanding but achievable targets for pupils' learning. In sum, the National Curriculum sets out what subjects pupils should study, what they should be taught and what standards they should achieve. In January 1995 a revised version of the National Curriculum was launched to make the curriculum less prescriptive and free up more time for schools to use at their own discretion. In 1997-1999, it was reviewed resulting in the introduction of the

education of citizenship as a subject. The main features of the National Curriculum are as follows:

The period of compulsory primary education is divided into two key stages (KS):

* KS 1 5-7 year olds;

* KS 2 7-11 year olds

The subjects at KSs 1 and 2 are as follows:

* Core subjects:

English, Mathematics, Science.

* Non-core foundation subjects:

Design and Technology, Information and Communication Technology, History, Geography, Modern Foreign Languages, Art and Design, Music, Physical Education and Citizenship. Additionally, all maintained schools are required to provide religious education and sex education (DfEE & QCA, 1999).

- The School Year

The school year consists of 190 days, divided into three terms, with breaks at Christmas, Easter and in August, together with half-term breaks of one week. Primary school pupils attend school from Monday to Friday, generally between 9.00am and 3.30pm, and the recommended weekly minimum teaching time is 21 hours for pupils aged 5-7 and 23.5 hours for 7-11 year-olds. (O'Donnell et al., 1999, quoted by Alexander, 2000:127).

- Assessment

Regular assessment of pupils in primary schools acts as a check on their progress under the National Curriculum. 7 year olds (the end of KS1) are tested in English and Maths. The tests take about 2½ hours in total. 11 year olds (KS2) are tested in English, Maths and Science. The tests take around 7 hours to complete.

- Teachers and Teacher Training

Teachers in state schools are employed by the LEAs in the case of most schools and by the governing body in the case of voluntary aided and GM schools. Teachers in any state maintained school must normally have Qualified Teacher Status (QTS). This is usually obtained by following a course of Initial Teacher Training (ITT). The two main forms of ITT are:

> A degree course specially designed to lead to QTS) normally a Bachelor of Education Degree); or a one year Post Graduate Certificate in Education (for students who already have a first degree qualification).

English primary schools, then, are extremely diverse: in size, age, range, location, population; in buildings, resources, staffing and traditions; and in links with churches and local authorities. While it is possible to construct a statistically average primary school, it is misleading to assume that there is such a thing as a typical primary school (OFSTED, 1999:18).

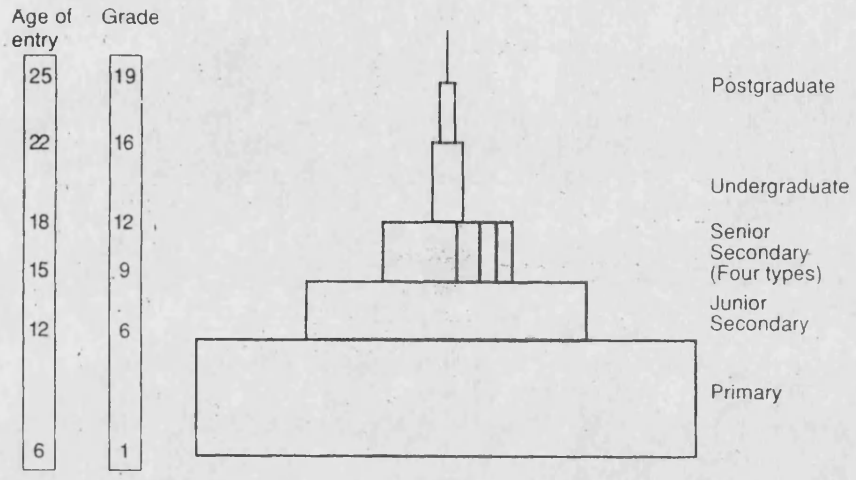
1.5.2 Primary education in China

- The development of basic education

Basic education in China includes regular primary and general junior and senior secondary education (see Figure 1. 2, photocopied from Cleverley, 1985. *The Schooling of China.* London: Allen & Unwin). With primary education being an integral part of the concept of basic education, one cannot talk about primary education without mentioning general secondary education.

Before the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, basic education in China was in an extremely backward state. In 1946, the country of a population of 400 million had only 1,300 kindergartens, 289,000 primary schools and 4,266 secondary schools. After 1949, the central and local governments began to invest substantial financial, human and material resources in education. With the adoption of the policy of reform and opening to the outside world in 1978, basic education entered a new era of progress. In 1985, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CCCPC) issued the 'Decision on the Reform of the Education Structure' laying down the principle that local governments should be responsible for basic education. The new policy was an incentive for local governments, especially those of the counties and townships. They gradually found new and effective ways to raise funds for rural schools and won support from the local communities. In 1986 the National People's Congress promulgated the 'Compulsory Education Law of the People's Republic of China', placing basic education in the country on a firm legal basis. In 1993 the CCCPC and the State Council jointly issued the 'Guidelines for the Reform and Development of Education in China',

Fig. 1.2 The structure of the education system in China.



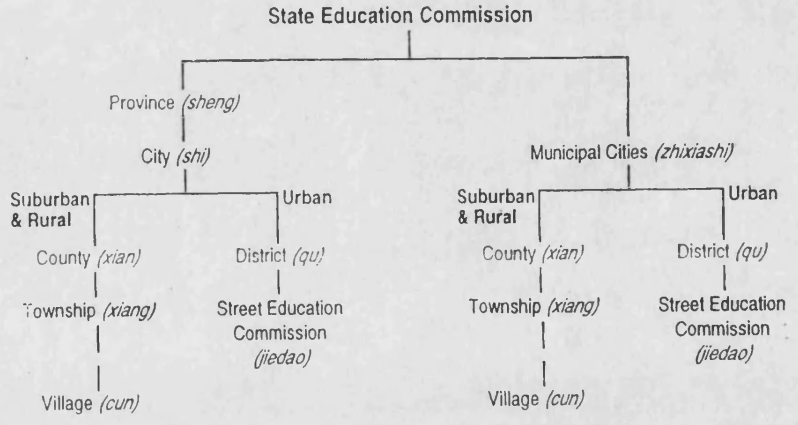


Fig. 1.2 Organisational map of the educational administration of China.

clarifying the directions and basic policies for the development of basic education till the early years of the 21st century.

During the past five decades, since the founding of the new China, basic education in China has made great strides. As of 1995, China had 180,438 kindergartens with a total enrolment of 27,112,300 infants, 668,685 primary schools with a total enrolment of 131,951,500 pupils, and there were 1,440 special education schools with a total enrolment of 341,000 children (The Ministry of Education, 1998:5).

- Administration of basic education

The central government exercises macro-guidance over basic education, leaving its actual day-to-day management to local governments at various levels with appropriate allocation of responsibilities. The State Education Commission [now the Ministry of Education] is responsible for formulating laws and regulations, policies and overall planning, and the basic elements of the education system; for establishing special funds for teacher training in poor and minority areas; and for general supervision and guidance of the work of the education departments under local governments. The responsibilities of provincial-level governments are to ensure the provision of basic education in areas under their jurisdiction, including the drafting of department plans, the design of teaching plans (curricula) for local primary and secondary schools; organising and carrying out evaluation and assessment of the provided basic education; and setting up educational funds to help poor and minority areas and providing subsidies to counties with inadequate financial resources for basic education.

County-level government agencies bear the main responsibility for implementing compulsory education, exercising overall management of educational finance, the deployment and management of school principals and teachers, and providing primary and secondary schools with guidance and instructions. The task of township government agencies is to provide compulsory education locally in the areas under their jurisdiction. The state encourages active participation in the provision and management of primary and secondary education from all quarters. Accordingly, the primary and secondary schools in many localities are jointly run by the local governments and nearby enterprises and institutions, neighbourhood communities or villagers' committees.

- The implementation of the Nine Year Compulsory Education regulations in China

Basic education in China takes 12 years to complete, consisting of three stages: primary, junior secondary and senior secondary. The nine-year compulsory education programme comprises 6 years in primary and 3 years in junior secondary schools. General senior secondary education takes 3 years to complete. 3-6 year old cohorts are enrolled for pre-school education in kindergartens or pre-school classes attached to primary schools.

Much has been achieved since the promulgation of the 'Compulsory Education Law of the People's Republic of China' issued in 1986. According to the statistics for 1995 the net enrolment rate of primary children hit 98.5% (98.9% in 1997, the Ministry of Education, 1997:1), and the proportion of primary school graduates going to junior secondary schools (including vocational ones) reached 90.8% (93.7% in 1997, the Ministry of Education, 1997:1). By 1997, there were 630,000 primary schools (95.2% of which are located in the rural areas, including rural towns and counties) in the whole

country with a total enrolment of 140 million pupils, which brought the net enrolment rate of primary school-age children up to 98.9% universalising primary education in areas inhabited by 90% of the nation's population.

The Chinese government places great emphasis on compulsory education in rural, poor and remote areas and among young girls. In 1987 the State Education Commission and the Ministry of Finance jointly issued the 'Opinions on Some Issues Concerning the Reform of Administration of Basic Education in Rural Areas'. Statistics show that in 1997 the [6-7 year olds] enrolment rate in primary education was 98.9%, 87.1% [of 12-14 year olds] in junior secondary, 40.6% [of 15-17 year olds] in senior secondary schools, and 7.6% [of 18-21 year olds] in tertiary education. Historic achievements have now been made for girls receiving education. According to available data, the net enrolment rate of primary school-age girls reached 98.15% in 1995, and the average length of schooling of girls has been significantly prolonged (The Ministry of Education, 1998).

- The curriculum

In the autumn of 1993 the implementation of the 'Teaching Scheme (Curriculum) for Full-time Primary and Secondary Schools' began in primary and junior secondary schools. This scheme comprises the arrangement of subjects taught and the related syllabuses. According to the new scheme subjects are divided into two categories: state-arranged subjects and locally-arranged subjects, with the latter determined by the authorities of provincial-level governments in the light of local realities and needs. The nine National Curriculum subjects for the primary phase include: moral education, Chinese, Mathematics, society [combination of the two original subjects of history and

geography (The State Education Commission, 1989)], nature, physical education, music, art and physical labour. Schools where conditions permit may teach the subject of a foreign language to Year 5s and Year 6s (The State Education Commission, 1994:11).

- The distribution of teaching time

The academic year of primary schools is divided into two terms. In the 6-year system, the school year of primary education comprises 38 weeks of teaching sessions, 23-26 hours a week, with an additional week in reserve and 13 weeks for holidays and vacations.

School starts at 9.00am, but children arrive at school at 8.40am for a morning reading session (a form of self-study, reading aloud Chinese texts); morning break, for exercises, lunch break; school finishes at 5.00pm.

- Examinations

Throughout the course of primary education, there are four different types of examinations taking place: the term examination, the academic year examination, the graduation examination and the entrance examination. Primary pupils sit the first three examinations in Chinese and mathematics. In places where junior secondary education has been basically universalised, all primary school graduates meeting local requirements for graduation should enter nearby junior secondary schools without taking entrance examinations. However, those graduates of junior secondary schools seeking senior secondary schools have to sit and pass locally organised entrance examinations before admission.

- Teachers and teacher training

In 1997, the total number of primary teachers in China was 5.8579 million. There is a full-fledged network of in-service training institutions encompassing 35 Training and Exchange Centres, 229 institutions of education and 2,142 teacher training schools catering for the needs of in-service teacher training for the primary sector (The Ministry of Education, 1998:19).

1.5.3 Comparing the two systems

We have seen that in the educational history of England and China, both countries have similarly experienced two epoch making events in the development of their education systems: the 1944 Education Act (The Butler Act) and the Education Reform Act 1988 in England; and in China, the founding of New China in 1949 and 'The Decision on the Reform of the Education Structure' in 1985. That primary and secondary education is provided by local governments makes it a similar feature in England and China though this has been so in England since the 1944 Education Act and in China since the Educational Reform in 1985.

England and China both have a national curriculum. The English National Curriculum was introduced in the Education Reform Act 1988 with wide-ranging central control. However, there is still some flexibility for choices within the national curriculum in terms of what to teach, how to teach and when to teach. Teachers may have the right to make those decisions on the subject content, teaching methodology and timetabling.

The Chinese national curriculum, known as the nation-wide unified curriculum, was brought about in 1949. [Here we are talking about the unified curriculum since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949.] Teachers were required to teach the curriculum using the unified syllabus for each subject, where it provides the framework for teaching, including objectives and requirements of the teaching of the particular subject, the contents of and suggestions on teaching, issues to be aware of in the teaching, etc., and using the teacher's book or reference book, where it clarifies the teaching objectives and requirements of each lesson, main points to be taught – what to teach, analysis of the teaching material and suggestions on the teaching of each lesson – how to teach, and keys to all exercises.

In the meantime, the Chinese pupils use the common textbooks. Teachers traditionally do not have the same autonomy and flexibility in planning and giving lessons as their English counterparts. Everything they may need in terms of what to teach, how to teach and the number of hours needed for one subject is available in the teacher's book or in other supplementary teaching materials provided, which in the long run, many teachers may become used to and seem to tend to rely on, and which may result in restraining the 'development of individual perspectives or potential' (as noted in a French context, by Broadfoot, Osborn, et al., 2000).

In China, literacy and numeracy performance is traditionally valued as most important and Chinese and mathematics are prioritised as the major or core subjects. The degree of emphasis on these two subjects may be reflected on the allocation of the teaching time. These two subjects take up more than half of the weekly total teaching time of 26 classes

for all subjects (40 minutes per class or period), 9 classes for Chinese and 5 for mathematics. Again, this is centralised time allocation, readily made for teachers, just as they are provided with the teaching methods.

By contrast, the English teachers are not provided with a set of books as the Chinese teachers are, despite the fact that there are guidelines/frameworks for the teaching of the core subjects and non-core foundation subjects. The literacy hour and numeracy hour were introduced in succession in September 1998 and September 1999, which was the pledge included in New Labour's 1997 election platform in order to meet the literacy and numeracy targets in the English primary education. The government reduced the requirements of the primary national curriculum in all subjects except English and mathematics, but it was clearly stated that 'questions about how to teach are not for Government to determine'. So schools are responsible for, or in other words, have the freedom to choose, appropriate teaching material, teaching methods or allocation of teaching time although they must meet the requirements of Government of raising the tested performance of 11 year olds in literacy and numeracy to specific levels by 2002.

In broad terms, the national curriculum is what is similar between the two countries. However, the differences presented may well be considered adequate for making a fundamental distinction between the two education systems. The English National Curriculum provides schools with guidelines, on the basis of which schools can formulate their own curriculum to suit their specific needs, thus giving schools and teachers the freedom and flexibility to decide what to teach, how to teach and when to teach. In contrast, the Chinese National Nurriculum offers the schools and teacher the whole

package containing a set of designer solutions to what, how and when to teach including the unified national curriculum, syllabus to each subject, text-books, teacher's book, allocation of weekly teaching hours for each subject, supplementary teaching material and so forth, leading to a teaching and learning model or a situation, in which teachers appear to play a role as passive transmitters of knowledge and pupils as passive receivers of knowledge. Here then there are already significant cultural differences in terms of academic values.

Comparing the two national curricula (see Figure 1.3 below), we may be able to draw a clearer picture of the similarities and differences between the children's body of knowledge in the two countries. Firstly, the design of primary curriculum. The English National Curriculum contains 14 subjects including two non-statutory subjects, foreign languages and citizenship, and two other required subjects, religious education and sex education.

Figure 1.3: *Subjects in the English Key Stage 1 & 2 and the Chinese Curriculum*

English Primary School Subjects	***Chinese Primary School Subjects***
Core subjects	
English	Chinese
mathematics	mathematics
science	nature
Non-Core foundation subjects	
information and communication technology	information technology
history	society = history +
geography	geography
modern foreign languages	foreign languages
art and design	art
music	music
physical education	physical education
citizenship	* moral education
	physical labour
sex education	** psychological health education
religious education	

Sources: DfEE, (1999). The National Curriculum – Key stages 1 and 2;
The State Education Commission, (1994). A Collection of Documents on the 9-Year Compulsory Education –Primary School Section. Beijing, China: Beijing Normal University Press
* This subject is listed at the top of the Chinese unified curriculum,
** This is an all required non-statutory subject (The Ministry of Education, Doc. Serial No. 1999-13)

The Chinese national curriculum consists of 12 subjects, of which Society is a mixture of two subjects, history and geography in the terms of the English curriculum; one non-statutory subject, Foreign Languages, is required by the Ministry of Education (Doc. Serial No. 2001-2), statutory from September 2001 in schools at city and county levels and from September 2002 in towns and villages, all for 3 years starting from Year 4; and a second non-statutory subject, Psychological Health Education, which is required just as Citizenship Education in the English curriculum, should be permeated in all subjects and through the whole course of schooling (The Ministry of Education, Doc. Serial No. 1999-13).

With a broad overview of the two curricula, it seems apparent that only one or two subjects make a culturally bound contrast, religious education and sex education in the English curriculum, with the apparent lack of Chinese counterparts. However, schooling in China does in some way involve the teaching concerning these two aspects. In the case of the former subject, 'Respect for the ethnic habits and customs of other people' is prominently listed as Article 2 among the twenty-article code of daily conduct for primary pupils. The latter subject is partially covered in the teaching of psychological health education, which is conducted in accordance with the physiological and psychological development characteristics of the children, which has become an increasingly attention-drawing issue in Chinese primary education.

There is also the subject of design and technology in the English curriculum while this is missing in the Chinese one. However, in one of the two available timetables obtained during the field work in China, one from Mrs SJ (C-School 1) and the other from Mrs YZ (C-school 4), I find that it has a lesson arranged for the third on Tuesday, named *Shougong* (Handicraft). Although it is not required in the unified curriculum, schools may, in the light of their specific conditions, find it useful to include this subject in their schedule to meet the needs of the children.

Another subject, *citizenship education* in England, is not statutory for Key Stages 1 and 2 though statutory for Key Stages 3 and 4 students from August 2002. While in China moral education, formerly called *politics* and now literally named '*ideology and moral education*', is taught from Year 1 and the teaching of this subject dates back to the year of 1949. Only one subject, physical labour, is unique in the Chinese schools, combining theoretical teaching and practical participation, but not in the English schools. These educational contexts both represent academic cultural values and have influence on teaching social cultural values. As cultural values permeate every subject taught, opportunities are offered for teaching values in all teaching contexts of practice, particularly in the teaching of the subjects mentioned in this paragraph, i.e., *citizenship education* in England and *ideology and moral education* in China.

Some subjects, however, seem to have been designed to meet the specific national conditions. For example, as England is a developed industrialised country, most of the pupils may not be expected to engage in any agricultural production activities but be prepared to participate in tomorrow's rapidly changing technologies, while the vast

majority of the Chinese pupils (in 95.2% of China's primary schools) are from the countryside of this developing agricultural country, most of whom will become agricultural producers. Take Design and Technology from England and Physical Labour from China for example. These two subjects both require hands-on work. The English pupils are expected to 'learn to think and intervene creatively to improve quality of life and become autonomous and creative problem solvers and innovators' (DfEE & QCA, 1999:90-91), and their Chinese peers are expected to 'learn to master some basic labour knowledge and skills and be able to engage in some simple and easy productive labour, and build up the abilities of observation, thinking and imagination and the spirit of creation' (The State Education Commission, 1994:124-5).

In China, traditionally education is the most important means by which people of humble origins rise to power and responsibility. The respect for education and learning among the Chinese dates back to Confucius (b. 551 BC), the initiator of the thought of Confucianism, who opened China's first private school (Cleverley, 1985) and Mencius (b. 371 BC). The latter made a distinction between physical power and mental power and advocated that people with intellectual supremacy should be recruited into the government administration. He therefore instituted the government examination system through which people from lowly backgrounds could distinguish themselves and be rewarded with high-ranking positions in the government. When a commoner was thus able to distinguish himself, he would be a great source of pride to his family. This attitude towards education and examination, reinforced over the centuries, has become an integral part of the Chinese psyche (Ho, 1962:5-256). Chinese parents are therefore in the habit of impressing on their offspring the importance of succeeding in their studies, not only as a

way to ensure a secure future for themselves, but also a way to repay their parents and bring 'glory' to their family name. Parents in turn are prepared to go to great lengths in order to help their children with their studies at school.

In comparison with Chinese parents, English parents not only have a significantly greater role on school governing bodies, but they have also had the right to express a preference for the school they would like their children to attend. In most primary schools, according to Broadfoot and Osborn (1993), parents have ready access to their child's teacher and classroom, and may be involved in a variety of support roles in the classroom or playground. Further, many primary schools are actively seeking to enlist the help of parents to support their children at home in activities such as mathematics and reading (p40).

Both England and China have been experiencing radical educational changes. Most recently, New Labour pledged to raise the quota of literacy and numeracy teaching in primary education for higher levels of tested performance of 11 year olds in literacy and numeracy, introducing the literacy hour in September 1998 and numeracy hour in September 1999. At about the same time, the Ministry of Education in China issued an urgent circular in January 2000 requiring all local educational administration departments and schools to take immediate action in accordance with the spirit of the Circular, and employ effective measures to lighten the overloaded school work burden on primary pupils: in order to ensure that no more than one qualified text-book is in use for each subject; no homework is to be assigned to Year 1 and Year 2 children; children from Year 3 to Year 6 are to be assigned homework that takes no more than one hour to

complete; all subjects except Chinese and mathematics are not to be examined; the hundred-mark system of the assessment is to be replaced with a grade system; Year 6 pupils are entitled to enter nearby junior secondary schools and are to be excused from entrance examinations, and so on (the Ministry of Education, 2000).

1.5.4 Diversity of schools

It is important to emphasise some divergent aspects. China is a country of a vast territory – 39 times that of England, with the world's largest population – 21 times that of England, a total of 630,000 primary schools, the diversity of the Chinese regionalistic cultures – 56 nationalities altogether, and also limitations of economic and geographic conditions – schools in rural mountainous and remote areas are as different as poles apart from those in urban areas, as was pointed by Chinese Premier Zhu Rongji in his Report on the Work of the Government (2002).

In China a strongly centralised education system has been operating for some time; Putonghua (Mandarin) has long been taught as the unifying national form of speech and Chinese written characters are the same all over China whatever dialect is spoken. Furthermore, when the Chinese think of themselves they have in mind a number of fairly clear characteristics including conformity with a certain culture of learning (Cortazzi and Jin, 1996:169-202). Then again, China is undergoing a period of rapid change and among young people greater individuality is becoming manifest. So, in any portrayal of a Chinese culture of learning – or of Western ones – we might expect a complex picture of

many variables, some of which may be in tension or even contradictory. This seems to be in the nature of a culture of learning, according to Cortazzi and Jin (1996:169-202).

English primary schools, according to OFSTED's (1999) review of primary schools in England 1994 – 1998, are so extremely diverse that there would be no such a thing as a typical English primary school in England. It is recognised that diversity presents a particular thorny problem for efforts to generalise, one that has hardly been tackled (Acker, 1999).

Thus there is great diversity in both countries in terms of type, scope and range of schools. One cannot hope to map this out or even to find any typical schools in any research. Therefore it is hoped that taking a small in-depth study would in this case be revealing and rewarding.

1.5.5 Diversity of teachers

If we think of not only the diversity of schools but also the diversity of teachers, then there are further problems of generalisability. English teachers, as Broadfoot and Osborn (1993) point out when comparing teachers in England with those in France, have a contract of employment with their employers, the local authority. Many primary teachers are feeling increasingly embattled at the present time as a result of the effects of cuts in educational funding; by a decline in public confidence. However, they do have their autonomy, which has led to teachers evolving a very broad conception of their role through their freedom to respond to their conceptions of pupil needs (p41). Similarly we

do not expect all Chinese teachers to be the same, though they all work within the still centralised education system and share the National Curriculum. Acker (1999) observes some factors that may make generalisation difficult: teachers come from many backgrounds, work in many different types of school of out-of-school settings, teach contrasting subjects, hold various types of contracts, enjoy greater or lesser status and operate within different political and economic constraints (Acker, 1999:52).

Class teachers in England and China, although they have different pedagogical obligations, take charge of the classroom as the grass-roots unit in the hierarchical structure of the school. The traditional inclusion of class meetings in China can be seen as the equivalent of the school assembly but also with a more directed personal moral focus in England. As the class meeting is disciplinary/behaviour oriented and rich in social cultural values as opposed to academic cultural values, it was chosen as a particular focus of observation in this research.

It is worthwhile pointing out another difference in the two education systems at the primary level. Chinese teachers are specialist teachers. They teach one subject, which is the subject they studied at college or university. They may teach one or two or more classes for up to 15 to 20 lessons per week. The English teachers, however, are generally generalist teachers, or class teachers as they are so called, who teach pupils of a class most or all of the subjects and are also in charge of the class in terms of management. In China, a teacher, normally the one who teaches the subject of Chinese, is appointed by the headteacher to be in charge of a class, and is literally called *Banzhuren*, Class Master. In England, according to Osborn and Black (1994), now there is a move towards subject

specialism from generalism. Subject specialism cuts across the traditional primary school role of the generalist teacher, and statistics show the ratio as follows: generalist 52.5%; generalist/consultant 40.4%; semi-specialist 7.1% and specialist 0.0%. The generalist model is still the preferred model for primary school teachers.

Therefore teachers in both countries in this research may have different responsibilities, which may affect the cultural possibilities they transmit in class and their attitudes towards the transmitting of cultural values. As we have shown, however, the education systems in the two countries already contain cultural emphases, and they are thus already in a position to allow for different opportunities for teachers to transmit cultural values of each country.

1.6 A comparative approach

Research on culture has been one of the main focuses in the domain of anthropology and social sciences. With the rapid development of the world's economy, international exchange and communication have become increasingly important and frequent. During the last two decades, researchers have attached great importance to research on cultural comparison. Much research has been carried out introducing and understanding cultures of different countries or ethnic groups. Although there has been an increase in international comparative studies concerning teachers' perceptions (Broadfoot and Osborn, 1993), and concerning children's perceptions (Broadfoot and Osborn, 2000; Planel, 1997), there does not seem to be much research that has been carried out on teachers transmitting culture, specifically what they teach and how they do it. The most

recent typical example of cultural study is that by Alexander (Alexander, 2000). Alexander's empirical study compares primary education in England, France, India, Russia and Michigan in the United States. Although his book is entitled 'Culture and Pedagogy', it is pedagogy that is the core of the study with the purpose of drawing pedagogical lessons from comparative interpretation, and the 'culture' in the study refers to the supportive cultural context of the five different settings of schooling.

It is accepted that the culture of a national context is not an easy concept to explore. Cultural groups have fluid boundaries and in any country there are major intersecting differences according to ethnic groups, social class, religion, age and gender. In other words, any one national culture contains many sub-cultures. Nevertheless, it can be said that despite such complexities there are similarities that exist between international social characteristics. In this sense, it is international differences that are substantial and significant. It can be helpful to define these and consider their potential role in learning. Also it is believed that children, before they go to school, are influenced by parents and the community and also peers, in a natural environment where culture is acquired and assimilated. An English child sees a horseshoe put up on the front door and knows it symbolises good luck; a Chinese child reads the Chinese character *fu* posted upside down on the front door on the Chinese New Year's eve and understands that it symbolises good fortune.

Cultures can be understood through comparison. Comparative cultural studies may make the strange familiar in the process of understanding, and make the familiar strange, which means new ideas and insights borne from comparisons help people to understand their

own culture better and more than before. With reference to the theoretical framework of cultural studies, which comprises cultural studies, intracultural comparative cultural studies, and international comparative cultural transmission studies, this study aims to explore what and how cultural values are transmitted by teachers in their practice in England and China from a perspective of international cultural comparison in the hope of contributing to the body of knowledge by bringing about some in-depth views on teachers' classroom practice, although the location of the four subject schools in each country was not in different regions and the insights yielded in this research may not be generalisable. This research on international comparative cultural transmission study by nature does, however, reveal complexities in classroom practice.

1.7 The structure of the thesis

An outline of how the remainder of the thesis is structured is as follows: Chapter II reviews the literature investigating the definitions of culture and addressing the nature of cultural values within a conceptual framework. The impact of values on the theory and practice of schooling is finally explored in some depth looking at the relationship of values and also cognitive development. Chapter III elucidates a number of issues relating to the methodology of the study, the purpose of which is to clarify and justify the positions taken, ending with a discussion of a series of issues in relation to the validation and verification of the data. Chapter IV focuses on the analysis of the data, revealing similarities and differences between the teachers in England and China, and drawing a global picture of the teachers reinforcing cultural values in their classroom practice. Chapter IV particularly examines how the teachers in the two countries used methods and

strategies to transmit cultural values, looking at the methods and strategies used implicitly and explicitly in the three modes: relying on shared known codes, setting up specific activities and using people or contexts as living examples. Chapter V discusses the issues that emerged from the comparisons made, both intra-cultural and inter-cultural.

The last chapter, Chapter VI summarises the significant findings of the research in line with a discussion on the answers to the main research questions, and discusses the contribution this research has made to the body of knowledge. Limitations and recommendations of the study are also discussed in this chapter.

CHAPTER II

THE REVIEW OF LITERATURE

CHAPTER II
THE REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.0 Introduction

Culture is a complex and vast area of study, and cultural values are an important aspect that anthropology researchers have paid much attention to. This review of literature starts with an investigation of the definitions of culture, looking at culture in a broad sense. Then the nature of cultural values will be addressed within a conceptual framework, which informs the empirical work of this report. The impact of values on the theory and practice of schooling will be finally explored in some depth considering the relationship of values and cognitive development.

2.1 Understanding culture

This section will start with the origin of the word 'culture' in the English language system and that of its equivalent in the Chinese language system, clarifying the evolution of its literary meaning in the Chinese equivalent. The second part will look at diverse definitions of culture given and used in both Oriental and Western literature, where culture is understood in both a broad and narrow sense, material and non-material, at kinds of levels and in various categories. Finally a working definition of culture will be given for the purposes of the present research, supported by working definitions of other key words such as *transmission, comparative study, teacher's role,* etc.

2.1.1 Culture, cultura and *wenhua*

Culture, derived from the Latin word *cultura* meaning 'cultivation, care', has developed many distinct meanings. *Wenhua* is a two-character term in the Chinese language system, equivalent of the word *cultura* in Latin or the word *culture* in English. The term *wenhua* was originally presented as two separate single Chinese characters, which were later on used in the form of a combined two-character term after the Western Han Dynasty (206 BC – AD 24), referring to either creation by nature or uncivilised 'simplicity', or 'savagery'. Through a long process of evolution, the term *wenhua* ('culture') from the ancient Chinese language developed into a connotation of *wenzhijiaohua*, which became relatively similar to the meaning of *culture* in English as will be shown below, though they are still different in some ways.

The Chinese version of *culture*, *wenhua*, originally stresses the spiritual sphere, while the English word *culture* extends from human activities of material production to the domain of spiritual activities (see also Triandis, 1994:16). In view of this, *culture* has a broader connotation than *wenhua.* Also *culture* is similar in meaning to another term in the Chinese language system *wenming* ('civilisation'), which connotes the process from the material creation of mankind to spiritual light illuminating the land.

In other words, *wenming* has the dual meaning of material creation and spiritual creation, which is similar to today's common understanding of macro-culture. And this, as Zhang and Fang comment, is why China, Egypt, Babylon and India are jointly called 'The Four

Great *Wenming Guguo* (*Nations with an Ancient Civilisation*)', not 'The Four Great *Wenhua Guguo*' (*Nations with an Ancient* culture). (Zhang and Fang, 1996:1-7).

Culture is diverse and dynamic. With many strands in a culture, human beings present many differences in personal appearance and cultural diversity, and care always needs to be taken to recognise the plurality of any culture and the diversity of discourses and cultural values within it (Morgan and Cain, 2000). It is the fact that diversity is revealed through conspicuous differences of colour, speech, dress, food and music, and a wide range of religious and non-religious values and beliefs of ethnic groups such as the substantial numbers of immigrants from India, Pakistan, East and West Africa, and the West Indies (Hulmes, 1989), etc. in Britain, which as the Swann Report (DES, 1985) states is 'a plural society'. Similarly, there are people from 13 different nationalities such as Uyghur, Kazakh and Han in my fieldwork place Xinjiang, and in China as a whole there are 56 different nationalities altogether across the country.

2.1.2 Broad- and narrow-sense culture

In *An Introduction to Chinese Culture*, a textbook for higher education in China, compiled by the State Education Commission of China, Zhang and Fang (1996) divide culture into two categories – culture in a broad sense and culture in a narrow sense: broad-sense culture essentially distinguishes between human society and nature, emphasising the particular ways in which human beings survive in nature; narrow-sense culture excludes some aspect of human society – the material creating activities and

achievements in historical life – stressing the activities of personal creation and the consequences.

Thus the following definitions can all be seen as belonging to the domain of narrow-sense culture. 'Cultures are all valuable creations by mankind in various aspects, cognitive, normative, art, instrumental, societal, etc.' (Liang, 1922, quoted in Zhang and Fang, 1996); and 'A certain culture is the ideological reflection of the politics and economy of a certain society' (Mao, 1942, quoted in Zhang and Fang, 1996).

This study looks at the narrow-sense culture and a variety of definitions of culture are categorically described below for the benefit of a conceptual understanding of culture. Some definitions use the two categories: 'material and non-material'. In clarifying definitions of culture, a working definition can then be drawn. This should provide a robust framework for considering cultural values and the ways of teaching them.

2.13 Material and non-material

This two-category concept is commonly used in defining culture. According to Morgan (1999), culture is usually defined in one of two ways: either as a set of practices, codes, and values that mark a particular nation or group; or as the sum of a nation or group's most highly thought of works of literature, art, music, etc. Here the first part can be seen as *non-material*, and the second part as *material*. A general definition of culture used by sociologists and anthropologists is that culture is everything that exists in a society. It includes everything that is man-made: technological artefacts, skills, attitudes and values

(Lawton, 1978:10), or as 'human-made part of the environment' (Triandis, 1994 quoting Herskovis 1955). These two definitions thus combine material and non-material.

The Triandis quoted Herskovis definition seems similar to the one given by Lawton (1978). Thus culture is divided into two categories: objective culture (chairs, tools, jet planes) and subjective culture (categories, norms, roles, and values) (Triandis, 1994:16). Therefore, objective culture seems to be material and subjective culture then, non-material.

To most anthropologists, culture encompasses both the non-material and material: the behaviours, beliefs, and attributes, and also the products of human activity that are characteristic of a particular society or population (Ember and Ember, 1977:23). Other anthropologists such as Keesing and Harris hold views stressing knowledge, behaviour or tradition (i.e., non-material). Keesing (1985:68) explains that in the usage of anthropology, culture does not mean cultivation in the arts. It refers, rather, to learned, accumulated experience and to those socially transmitted patterns for behaviour characteristic of a particular social group.

Harris explains that culture is the learned, socially acquired traditions and life-styles of the members of a society, including their patterned, repetitive ways of thinking, feeling, and acting (Harris, 1987:6). A definition can even be as broad as 'a way of life' (Billington, et al., 1991:9). And a more detailed and plainly put definition by Meill, quoted in Kannan (1978), explains that culture:

- is the characteristically human product of human interaction;
- provides socially acceptable patterns of human interaction;
- is cumulative, as it is handed down from generation to generation, in a given society;
- is learned by each person in the course of his development in a particular society;
- is necessarily a basic determinant of personality; and
- depends for its existence upon the continuing functioning of the society, but is independent of any individual group.

As has been discussed, the term *pattern* is often used in giving the definition as in Keesing (1985) and Harris (1987). In defining culture, Bullivant (1981:3) stresses *pattern* and also communication by noting that culture is a patterned system of knowledge and concepts, embodied in symbolic and non-symbolic communication modes, which a society has evolved from the past, and progressively modifies and augments to give meaning to and cope with the present and anticipated future problems of its existence.

By reference to pattern, this definition draws attention to the wholeness of culture and the sharing of moral values, beliefs and practices. Reference to the past, present and future strongly suggests a requirement to transmit culture to the next generation, while 'progressively modifies' suggests that what is transmitted be intended for cultural conservation and revitalisation.

In common parlance, however, there appear to be two approaches to culture as referred to by Brooks (1964), which describe material and non-material in a different way. The first is 'Culture with a capital C' as 'formal culture' which includes all the great achievements, refinement and artistic endeavour of a nation. The other is 'culture with a small c' as 'deep culture' which includes life-style of a community or a nation. Other

definitions include the one given by Bidney (1953), where it stresses culture's intellectual qualities, which can be related to the earlier discussed capital C category:

'A culture consists of the acquired or cultivated behaviour and thoughts of an individual, within a society, as well as of the intellectual, artistic, and social ideals and institutions, which the members of the society profess and to which they strive to conform.'

(Bidney, 1953)

And according to McCarthy and Carter (1994), *Culture* with a capital *C* refers to the most prestigious artistic achievements of a society: its art, music, theatre and, especially its literature; and *culture* with a small *c* stands for the habits, customs, social behaviour and assumptions about the world of a group of people, ranging from family eating habits to the institutions of the society, e.g. church, police and education. Other relevant elements of culture within this definition include advertisements, magazine stories, popular TV series, jokes, newspaper articles and feature stories. Thus the small *c* culture contains both the material and non-material.

One definition of culture frequently quoted by researchers in sociology and anthropology is 'Culture is that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of the society' Tylor (1871). In this definition Tylor gives a broad spectrum of cultural characteristics. Different to Tylor (1871), Malinowski, founder of the anthropological school of functionalism, gives a definition, broad as it is, in the sense that it includes an account of all cultural elements, material and non-material and spiritual, as well as their contributions to the physical needs of human beings, he writes,

'When we consider a very simple, or primitive, culture, or an extremely complex and developed one, we are confronted by a vast instrumental apparatus, partly material, partly human and partly spiritual, by which man is able the better to cope with the concrete, specific problems that face him.'

Malinowski (1944)

According to Malinowski, human beings' physical needs are met by the creation of a new, secondary environment, and this environment, neither more nor less than culture itself, has to be permanently reproduced, maintained and managed. Here this idea of reproduction, maintenance and management and Bullivant's (1981) idea of evolution, modification and coping appears to have been cut from the same cloth and stresses the dynamic features of culture. He then gives a list of seven physical needs (metabolism, reproduction, bodily comforts, safety, movement, growth and health) and their elementary cultural responses, the expression of which varies from society to society according to geographical places and the particular nature of their historical development. For Malinowski, every cultural element must meet a certain physical need, otherwise it cannot be considered as a real element of a particular culture.

Tylor (1871) defines culture so broadly that it leads to failure of explaining either the way that these elements are formed and developed, or how they affect behaviour. Malinowski's (1944) definition of culture and the list of physical needs seem rather, as Honigmann (1963:15) describes cultural customs, *arbitrary*. Despite his attempts to provide a historical view of culture, Malinowski (1944) puts forward the above mentioned physical needs in order to explain the existence of particular cultural elements, and to provide an understanding of the supposed functional relationship between physical

needs and their cultural responses, which leads to a simplification of the term *culture*, unable to explain more complex cultural phenomena.

There are so many different (or sometimes similar) definitions of culture, but there are certain aspects that almost all researchers see as characteristics of culture. Can we obtain a satisfactory definition of culture by using any one perspective? Triandis (1994) refers to empirical research carried in 1984 by Triandis and others that raised the above question and found that the answer was 'No', putting forward the idea that culture is in the heads of its members, and we cannot fully understand it without knowing a great deal, which is likely to require the study of how ecology and history shaped the culture

Generally speaking, early anthropological definitions of culture (e.g. Tylor, 1871) equated culture with socially learned ideas and behaviours. However, as Ulf Hannerz (among others) notes, in the recent period, 'culture has been taken to be above all a matter of meaning' (Strauss and Quinn, 1997), and he has divided this into levels or categories, for instance.

2.14 Models of culture

Some writers try to bring together different views and add extra cultural categories in multi-layered models. Zhang and Cheng, quoted in Gu (1998:5-6), define culture as the ways of personal and practical activities conducted by mankind to deal with the relationship between human beings and the world, and the summation of material and personal achievements created by mankind, and it is the dialectical unity of ways and achievements of activities. Culture, as Zhang and Cheng continue, has three different

levels: the first level, thoughts, awareness, concepts, etc.; the second, artefacts, i.e. material objects; and the third, systems, styles, etc. (Zhang and Cheng, 1990:2-3). There is a difference between this definition from Zhang and Cheng and the previous broad-and-narrow sense one given by Zhang and Fang (1996): the former appears to maintain an integrated view of culture, looking at both personal and practical activities, and both personal and practical achievements of mankind, and also holds that human beings and the world are related while the latter advocates a disintegrated viewpoint, excluding practical activities and achievements in its narrow-sense category, and distinguishing between human beings and the world in its broad-sense category of culture.

Another Chinese scholar, Pang (1988:71), gives a definition as 'Culture is the presentation and cause of formation of human nature,' where Pang puts culture into three different levels as well: psychological level, material level and middle level (combination of the first and second). Here it appears that Level 1 pertains to the category of non-material and Level 2 can be referred to the category of material while Level 3 amalgamates both levels.

Schein (1985) talking in the context of organisational cultures distinguishes three levels of culture as:

* deepest level - basic assumptions;
* middle level - values; and
* surface level - artefacts and creations.

Here the first two levels may be seen as belonging to the category of non-material and the third level belonging to the category of material. According to Schein's three-level recognition, human ideas are represented in the code of behaviour and behaviour in turn results in social products. In the light of the above three three-levels, similarities and differences are shown in Table 2.1 below.

The definitions discussed above are different in presentation, but similar in content. They indicate that a) culture is created by mankind; b) creation activities and achievements are covered; and c). Culture has levels - three levels: thoughts, materials and systems.

Table 2.1: *Levels of culture*

Levels / names	Level 1 (deepest level)	Level 2 (surface level)	Level 3 (middle level)
Zhang and Cheng (1990)	thoughts awareness concept	artefacts (material objects, etc.)	systems styles
Pang (1988)	psychological	material	Middle (combination of levels 1 & 2)
Schein (1985)	basic assumptions	artefacts creations	values

A different categorisation offered by Hammerly (1982:513) is a three-fold classification of culture within the context of second language teaching, which includes gaining knowledge of another culture, and emphasising the two aspects of knowledge and artefacts:

- Information (or factual) culture. According to Hammerly, this refers to the information or facts that the average educated native knows about his society, the geography and history of his country, its heroes and villains, and so on.
- Behavioural culture. This is mainly about life-style in a particular culture as typical 'actual behaviour' plus attitudes, values, etc.
- Achievement (or accomplishment) culture. This is the traditional concept of 'artistic and literary accomplishment' as cultural heritage of a nation.

This classification of culture indicates that the first and the third of the above three can be seen as static part of a culture, which people draw on and carry forward; and the second shows the dynamic features of a culture, which may change and evolve.

Looking at personal value systems, which exclude artefacts, Goulet (1994) suggests that living cultures have three characteristics, which relate to identity on different levels - personal, group and community:

- A common system of signifying and normative values: 'signifying values' give meaning to existence in its totality; 'normative values' supply behavioural rules as to how life should be lived.
- Some shared basis for people to identify themselves as members of a single group: a common territory, history, language, religion, race or ancestors.
- The will or decision to be primarily self-identified as a member of a given community.

2.1.5 Cultures as groups

We can say that the formation of culture starts with the formation of any human society. Human beings unite in social groups to meet certain biological needs or *organic needs* as suggested by Malinowski. For the existence and the maintenance of the group, certain laws and commonly defined and accepted ways of behaviour are necessary. The whole

spectrum of these norms, laws, values and ways of communication, which is stressed by Bullivant (1981), between human beings forms the non-material part of what is called culture, which together with the material elements form a culture proper (see definitions by Tylor, 1871; Schein, 1985; Pang, 1988 and Triandis, 1994). Individual behaviour is shaped culturally within the system. Habits and ways of behaviour are culturally conditioned in such a way as to serve the needs of the group. A cultural need becomes a need to every individual who is part of a sociocultural system. Murdock (1965) states that an individual becomes a human being only when s/he and her/his culture join together. In other words, an individual becomes a part of a sociocultural system by accepting and following and, put more accurately, by internalising its ethical codes, requirements and values. On the other hand, a living culture exists only as it is internalised by the individuals who compose the group, and culture is also supra-individual in its nature (Murdock, 1965). Therefore culture can be spoken of as the laws, norms, values, ways of behaviour which can be implied by the collective behaviour of individuals of a certain sociocultural group, and which is independent of any specific individuals.

As well as the other definitions of culture, this word can also be used to define groups. Morgan (1995) points out, the word 'culture' lends itself to variable interpretations: 'culture' linked with the arts both in terms of high culture and popular culture, and 'culture' linked to particular groups such as 'youth culture', 'black culture' ['culture' taken as meaning the behaviour and value systems of a whole community]. In Bruner's (1996) point of view, however, cultures are not simply collections of people sharing a common language and historical tradition. According to Bruner, cultures are composed of institutions that specify more concretely what roles people play and what status and

respect they are accorded – though the culture at large expresses its way of life through institutions as well (p29). In looking at schools then we can think of the culture of a school or a particular classroom as well as the overall education cultural climate.

Considering then all the above definitions that share common features, the components of culture can be broadly put into three categories: ideas (or thoughts), including morals, values, beliefs, institutions, attitudes; behaviour (or action), including customs, habits, dress, foods, leisure; and products (or achievements), including language, history, literature, art, artefacts, technology, etc. (See Table 2.2 below)

Table 2.2: *Literature-based Categories of Culture*

Culture	Categories		
	Ideas (Thoughts)	Behaviour (Action)	Products (Achievements)
Components	morals values beliefs institutions attitudes	Customs systems styles, habits dress, food leisure	language history literature art artefacts

2.1.6 A working definition of culture

A single definition of culture may be worked out from a specific perspective on an area or for the purpose of a particular study but this will inevitably have its own limitations, as will any definition. It is beyond the scope of this study to involve the present researcher in the anthropological arguments as this research is educational/ethnographic rather than

anthropological. However, it would be too restrictive simply to choose only one of the foregoing definitions. An eclectic approach has therefore been adopted.

Taking all the previous definitions of culture into consideration, whether it is one with a variety of aspects included or one as 'a way of life', the underpinning of explicit or implicit cultural systems that people draw on and carry forward, is *values*, 'the standards of behaviour' (Wagner & Stevenson, 1982) and 'the guiding principles for the social practices' (Kutnick, 1983). The relationship between the values of culture and culture itself is just that between the head-rope of a fishing net and the net itself. When the head-rope is pulled up, the whole net naturally opens up. In this sense, within the limitations of a small-scale study, research into *values,* the quintessence of *ideas*, seems particularly significant in contributing to the complex jigsaw of the transmission of *culture* in schools. Thus referring back to Table 2.2, it is the first column that drives the components mentioned in the other two columns. Hence it is intended to examine symbolic systems of culture (language, activities and behaviour) in order to identify values and to answer the main questions of this research:

1). *What cultural values are transmitted in the classroom?*
2). *How are these cultural values transmitted?*

As this research is within the field of education, it is important that I choose among those definitions discussed above, or that I give my own definition of culture based on one that is believed to be able to serve the purposes of this research. Therefore, a working definition of culture is thus given as:

The set of ways in which a people express themselves and their values system

In particular I shall be looking at what (a small group of) teachers say and what they do.

In the meantime, some of the key words are briefly defined as follows:

Transmission

- the process of activities through which cultural knowledge is passed either consciously or unconsciously, and either implicitly or explicitly on to the recipients.

Comparative study

- that can be done on the basis of two or more societal contexts of different cultural backgrounds, looking at both intra-cultural perspective and inter-cultural perspective (Broadfoot and Osborn, 1993).

Teacher's role

- the behaviour of the subject in undertaking classroom activities serving cultural purposes, which can be seen functioning, in a broad sense, as *a constructor*, a *mediator, etc.*, or in a narrow sense, as a *transmitter.*

This research suggests that the linked issues of *content*, *process* and *context* (Teasdale, 1995) of culture deserve greater research emphasis than they currently receive by being compared interculturally. In other words, in much research where viewpoints are put forward, a common context is imagined. Comparisons between countries allow for a different perspective.

2.2. Understanding cultural values

In the last section, the relationship between culture and cultural values has been established and the importance of research into values, the central part of culture has also been suggested. In this section, the meaning and value of cultural values are explored in greater depth.

2.2.1 The meaning of values - societal and personal

The pursuit of understanding is a key issue in qualitative research. Ideas and values form a crucial element in social action and social institutions and must be understood as such (Smith, 1997). It is understood that cultural values are socially constituted and have a communal nature. However, every society has a dominant value system, which is an underlying set of values shared by an established majority of the population which 'is a complex mixture of religious, political and scientific values and beliefs' (Lawton, 1989:31), and which is 'the engine that drives our lives' (Stewart, 1993). Ernest (1991) defines an educational ideology as 'an overall, value-rich philosophy or world-view, a broad inter-locking system of values and beliefs', which 'combines both epistemological and moral value positions' and which 'underpins and permeates other fields of knowledge' (p111).

Value as a term can differentiate itself from the verb *value*. One meaning of the verb *value* is quite simple. The verb 'to value' can be used in different ways – it may mean 'like' or 'welcome' as in 'I value your ideas', but here the valuing is not necessarily dependent on an actual system of values. You may more likely use expressions such as 'Reading is important to me' to describe your own personal values.

What we value can thus be what we either like or dislike, for things are valued on a scale, and there are some things, like health, that we value highly; others, like pain or dementia, that we value in the opposite sense, regard as horrible, and would prefer always to avoid, both for ourselves and others (Warnock, 1996: 46). *Values*, however, underpin everything we human do in (and with) the world, not least our understanding and practice of that

social interaction which we call education. Scott and Oulton argue that the values which individuals hold are those actions, ideas and ideals which guide how they *feel* they *ought to* live their lives (Scott and Oulton, 1998).

Values have been variously defined as things which are considered 'good' in themselves (such as beauty, truth, love, honesty and loyalty) and as personal or social preferences. Although these given definitions share something in common, there is no consensus here (Taylor, 1998). Fraenkel (1977:11) considers values as being 'both emotional commitments and ideas about worth'. Beck (1990:2) defines values as 'those things (objects, activities, experiences, etc.) which on balance promote human well being'.

Similar to Warnock's (1996) 'likes or dislikes', Shaver and Strong (1976:15) state that values are our standards and principles for judging worth. They are the criteria by which we judge 'things' (people, objects, ideas, actions and situations) to be good, worthwhile, desirable; or on the other hand, bad, worthless, despicable. And Halsted and Taylor (1996:5) suggest that it is true that to talk of the *value* of something (as in the phrase *value*-added) has always been to talk of its worth, and that when we *value* something we are making a high estimate of its worth. However, the term *values* (in the plural form) now seems to refer to the criteria by which we make such value judgements, to the principles on which the value judgements are based. Raths, Harmin and Simon (1996:28)

extend the definition of values by including the aspect of behaviour as 'beliefs, attitudes or feelings that an individual is proud of, is willing to publicly affirm, has chosen thoughtfully from alternatives without persuasion, and is acted on repeatedly'.

Values lie as criteria behind any selective behaviour, behind any particular choice from a great variety of choices given, or in other words, values are involved when the behaviour of the subject is directed towards an aim. They, different from the earlier stated view of 'What we value is what we either like or dislike', define to the members of the society what is 'good' or 'bad', what is 'right' or 'wrong', which behaviour should be rewarded or punished, which behaviour helps the maintenance of the system, and which contributes to its disorganisation and disintegration. They represent social rules imposed on all members of the society, shaping their behaviour according to the particularities of a certain culture.

2.2.2 Cognitive internalisation of values

One's cognitive process is influenced by pre-existing attitudes (often from parents) on current attitudes (often from teachers). Any new information will be processed in the light of other related knowledge already assimilated. All pupils are likely to have previous home-based preconceptions, experiences and other influences from peers, media, etc. These will not only act as a kind of internal processing filter but are also likely to influence the ability to accept incoming information (Morgan, 1993a).

According to McPhail *et al.* (1974), the process of moral cognition is pupils' adapting to a considerate way of life. They need to be committed to the idea and practice of taking others' needs, interests and feelings into account and to put moral values and attitudes into practice – living of a good life (McPhail *et al.*, 1974). Since moral development, as Kutnick (1983) writes, takes place within a particular social context, although the child actively interacts with the world (of parents and peers), the context imposes constraints.

Some of these constraints are physical, most are social; the individual is required to comply with moral and social codes. Early on from the parents, therefore, the child learns that the world is both constraining and contradictory. Development is the process of making cognitive sense of this contradictory world. This process is mediated by children's age, stage of development, and the cultural characteristics of the environment (Kutnick, 1983:173).

2.2.3 Thought-action relationship in morality

Generally speaking, actions are more visible than thoughts. The gap between thought and action, which may be the failure to live up to our moral convictions, is as familiar to psychologists as it is to philosophers. One and the same piece of behaviour might be right on one occasion, wrong on another, and on a third morally neutral. It depends on the circumstances, and also on the individual's motivation, on what people think they are doing and why. Merely obeying a command - a criterion often used by psychologists as a measure of 'resistance to temptation' - is not necessarily behaving morally. It depends on what the command is, and why you obey it (Locke, 1983:109).

On the other hand, reasoning without action will be idle and empty, and any comprehensive account of moral functioning must include moral behaviour as well as moral thought. The problem remains of the relationship between thought and action, between people's beliefs about what they ought to do, and how they actually behave.

2.2.4 Moral development in the classroom

According to a constructivist position, development is not a matter of the acquisition of more knowledge, but of increasing differentiation and integration in the construal process. Development means an increasing ability to comprehend what is relevant, what should be taken into consideration, and increasing capacity to organise and reorganise conceptualisation and construal to take account of this comprehension (Weinreich-Haste, 1983:88). This then is another way of talking about the internalisation process mentioned earlier.

In a classroom, the immediate source of new insights can be the teacher and the textbook (Weinreich-Haste, 1983:71). Although both sources may be very rich in terms of conveying morality, home-based schemata are still likely to be dominant in the classroom. Although it is not the present aim to explore the earliest foundation of moral development (the relationship between early experience, early cognitive development, and the foundation of morality), it is necessary to point out that home-based preconceptions (Kohlberg, 1981) or home-based moral interaction, for children, is a constructive process of cognition, acceptance and assimilation of moral values, which represents a preliminary phase but also an essential foundation which prepares the children for stepping into school and out into society.

There have already been some anthropological studies of schools, in which a dominant theme was the relation between the cultures and social practices of school and those of the communities in which the schools were set. An example is Philips's (1970) studies of American Indian children, which showed that there was conflict between the interactional

norms of the classroom and those of their home community, resulting in (white) teachers considering their behaviour inappropriate. To this phenomenon we may find a proper explanation from Andrew Pollard's (1985) 'commonsense thinking' in the sense of having common shared ideas. An immediate action, he says, by an individual in response to a particular situation is likely to draw on commonsense thinking. There is, a continuous dialectical movement between the macro and micro levels in which the social and economic structure and individuals in interaction together generate and regenerate the hegemony (Pollard, 1985:107-108).

The macro level may refer to the mainstream American culture and the micro level may refer to the ethnic group of the American Indian culture that was exemplified in those children's behaviour. Teachers, though considering their behaviour inappropriate, would be continuously interactive with those children, who came with their attained values from that 'micro level' community to the macro world, testing the acquired and experiencing, adapting to and assimilating new values that may first be found conflicting to their own, and together 'generate and regenerate the hegemony', where both they, the American Indian children and their teachers, would find behaviour appropriate and acceptable to all.

Pollard's (1985) explanation is given a different perspective by Geert Hofstede (1980). It is argued, Hofstede states, that people carry 'mental programs', which are developed in the family in early childhood and reinforced in schools and organisations. Here then Hofstede does not see a clash between home and school. He sees rather that these mental programs contain a component of national culture. These mental programs are most clearly expressed in the different values that predominate among people from different

countries (Hofstede, 1980:11). In other words, the disjunctures that Hofstede identifies are between countries, not within a country.

Instead of stressing the behaviour conflict between teachers and children, Bourdieu (1997) and Halsey, Lauder, et al. (1997) then emphasise the importance of the cultural values children acquired at home or within the community. Bourdieu argues that the scholastic yield from educational action depends on the cultural capital previously invested by the family (Bourdieu, 1997). Here Bourdieu not only affirms the important status of the pre-school cultural values, but also stresses the significant role of the teachers in the educational achievements of the children. In referring to Gellner (1983) and Smith (1995), Brown, Halsey and Lauder and Wells (1997) state that the importance of religious belief and ethnic custom are basic forces, and typically more powerful than schools in forming the outlook of children. When exploring the visible and invisible aspects of class and pedagogy, Bernstein (1997) also looks at social/class clashes and the imposition of power relationships. Here then because they may have to deal with cultural conflicts at school, the teachers' role as transmitters, mediators, and facilitators in reinforcing the cultural values seems both challenging and essential.

2.2.5 Teachers' perceptions of values

There are certain values that tend to be emphasised by teachers in the daily life of the school: for example, that human relationships should as far as possible be warm and cordial, that students should be treated fairly, that knowledge is important, that a degree of structure and discipline is necessary for learning, and so on. And beyond these 'givens'

of good schooling, teachers are likely to want to present themselves as people of values who have reasons for their convictions (Beck, 1993).

Osborn (1996) presents teachers' priorities in terms of both academic and non-academic perspectives as a result of interviews with teachers. The data was gathered from interviews carried out with Key Stage 1 teachers on the impact of the National Curriculum and the multiple changes. The priorities chosen by the interviewees as the answer to the question 'What are your priorities in working with the children in your class?' originally tabled to show the percentages, are now listed below:

Teachers' academic and non-academic priorities:

Academic priorities [academic cultural]	*Non-academic priorities* [social cultural]
- Emphasising basic skills	- [Fostering] happiness, enjoyment in learning
- Developing individual potential	- [Fostering] social skills, co-operative attitudes
- Matching work to children	- [emphasising] independence, autonomy
- Listening and communication skills	- Moral, religious education
- Broad, balanced curriculum	
- Affective, creative curriculum	
- Achieving NC attainment targets	

(Cited from Osborn, 1996)

The non-academic priorities from the study of teacher perceptions sheds light upon the present research in question, and gives some very useful ideas about what teachers might think their role is. But without investigating how teachers transmit their priorities, it differs from the present research, which aims to address what and how cultural values are transmitted in the classroom. Osborn's work in this case is also only intra-national.

Pollard (1985) identifies values by examining teachers' dialogues. In talking about education and society in his book, and by using three sets of social values derived from

the examples of many forms of teachers' talk – instructions, comments, questions, etc, collected in one of his studies, Pollard stresses that the way in which social and cultural values and beliefs influence schooling processes is both a very difficult area and too significant to ignore (p107). It is clear that Pollard's study is not so much concerned with a discussion or an analysis of the actual cultural values transmitted by teachers or of the strategies used in the transmission, but rather attempts to set primary schools in a wider context of society as a whole, analysing the role schools can play in society for social development (p107). The three sets of values are shown below (see Table 2.3).

Table 2.3: *Examples of forms of teachers' talk collected in the study at Moorside*

Set 1	Set 2	Set 3
Effort: 'You're not trying at all.' *Perseverance*: 'Try once more.' *Neatness*: 'Make it look good.' *Regularity*: 'Is that your best work?' *Speed*: 'Get a move on.'	*Self-control*: 'Stop being silly.' *Obedience*: 'Do what I tell you.' *Politeness*:'Good morning, children.' *Quietness*: 'Stop talking.' *Respect for authority*: "'*Yes Sir*' is what you say." *Truth*: 'Are you lying to me?'	*Achievement*: 'Have you got that right?' *Individualism*: 'Don't help each other.' *Hierarchy*: 'Who got ten out of ten?' *Self-reliance*: 'Go and find out.'

(Extracted from Pollard, 1985:108-110)

According to Pollard, Set 1 seems to relate to productivity and efficiency; Set 2 is grouped around behaviour and social relationships; and Set 3 is about individualism and competitiveness. Pollard concentrates on discourse – what the teachers say.

2.2.6 Teacher-pupil interaction

To children, exposure, acquisition, awareness and correction of misbehaviour are an integral part of the constructive and developmental process of acquiring cultural values, in which teachers play an important role through teacher-pupil interaction. As mentioned earlier, the first in the hierarchy of influences is generally the parent (or carer) followed by other relations, intimates of the family and teachers. However, teachers are often very influential, and they may spend a great deal of time with particular children. Moreover, teachers have consciously or unconsciously a specific moral educational role (McPhail, Middleton and Ingram, 1978:5-11). Teachers teach the difference between right and wrong - teaching that right and wrong is real and applicable, not merely verbal distinctions. In such ways, teachers will be attempting to socialise their pupils, and make them fit, that is, to live in society. Some other writers such as Apple, Bourdieu and Bernstein (as we explore later) find this socialisation problematic.

School and home are not the only places where such lessons are learned. School though differs from home as it is a larger society, and it is within society that shared values, which inform the conscience, are predominately exercised (Warnock, 1996:49). Children will be encouraged to accept the views they are taught and see these as norms, and only gradually, perhaps because of a difference of view between a teacher and a parent, will they come to recognise that these are not matters where everyone agrees about what is right and what is wrong. However in matters of classroom morality, teachers are called upon to be definite, judgmental, authoritarian and convinced, ready to use strong and unambiguously moral language (p50).

2.2.7 The importance of plural values in moral education

Now we need first to consider what exactly is meant by the plural society, which is often how our society is described. To what extent does the plurality of cultures entail a real plurality of morals? Does respect for the tradition of other cultures mean that we must stand back from all moral judgements? It is necessary to draw certain distinctions at this point.

Some writers suggest adopting a pluralist approach to values. Philips's studies of American Indian children discussed earlier showed the diversity of cultural values telling of conflict between the interaction norms of the classroom and those of their home community. In imagining a typical city primary school at the end of the twentieth century, where there is a wide mix of children of different races and cultural background, Philips (1970) goes on to suggest that moral values of schools should include the following as a framework of shared values:

> Telling the truth; keeping promises; respecting the rights and property of others; acting considerately towards others; helping those less fortunate and weaker than ourselves; taking personal responsibility for one's actions; self-discipline; and rejection of bullying, cheating, deceit, cruelty, irresponsibility and dishonesty.

2.2.8 Moral agreement / consensus

If we think of ourselves as members of society then, and if we think of school as a microcosm of society, it becomes clear that there seems to be within society a wide degree of moral agreement reinforced of course by laws and regulations. Children may not automatically know about this or assent to it; so at school, the teacher's task can be

seen, by example and intervention and the clear use of moral language, to introduce and make this clear. The teacher may hope that the requirements of civilised society will be internalised, taken on by the child, becoming a matter of what may be termed conscience, so that it will not be necessary to invoke the power of the criminal law.

But how can the process of 'moral education' be described? Wilson (1981) carried out a survey of public opinion and understanding of discipline and moral education, and respondents were required to list moral values, in which they thought the young should believe. In the end, these respondents' models of moral education, based on respondents of teachers, were categorised under six headings, here extracted in order.

- Contagion:

'Goodness' was seen as flowing into the pupils from 'good' teachers, parents, hero-figures, religious leaders or gods; and imitation and admiration of the 'good' source of power was stressed.

'Badness' was described as pollution, corruption, infection, etc. Certain things connected with matters of sex or hygiene, dress, bad language, and even hairstyles, were regarded as 'bad' on a taboo-object basis.

- External authority:

'Goodness' consisted of obedience to external commands - the authority of parents, elders, teachers, the law, religious leaders or religious authorities, natural law, the spirit of the universe, the power of righteousness, etc.

- Internal authority: 'Goodness' consisted of obedience to a number of internal commands, on a fairly strict analogy with obedience to external authority.
- Self-interest: 'Virtues' such as keeping the rules and considering other people was considered a more sensible and rewarding way of life. 'Vices' such as stealing, assault, murder and so on were mentioned.
- Socialisation:

Moral Education in general terms, was taken as primarily concerned with fitting the pupils into 'society'.

- Love and reason:

Pupil's autonomy as a thinking/feeling creature and criterion of other people's interests were both concerned with as well as the development of the pupil's understanding and rationality in the moral area.

(Wilson, 1981:105-106)

The first three models had little to do with reflection, thought, or rational consideration of moral problems or decisions, but corresponded fairly well to the 'conformity' and 'ideological' dimensions. The last three models were much more concerned than the first three with the notion of having reasons, rather than merely with reaction or obeying, and to some extent corresponded to the 'autonomy' and 'utilitarian' dimensions.

2.2.9 Values and facts

Another important area to examine is the relationship between values and facts. Bottery (1990) argues that a strong case for the dependency of facts upon values and of values upon facts. One cannot for example make a serious evaluation about foetal research or nuclear deterrence without knowing the factual background. However, at the same time the notion that there are facts, which are solid, permanent and unchangeable, is a popular myth, which needs to be challenged if values are to be dealt with fully within education. Historical 'fact' for example is selected because of prior values about what is important: " 'Facts' are plucked from obscurity to fame because of their contribution to an overall scheme" (p47).

Science as an area of inquiry is also dependent upon a prior scheme of values, both in terms of questions posed as well as the hypotheses and selection of which facts are important and which are not. There are also serious criticisms of the objectivity of the methodology of scientific inquiry (Kuhn, 1970 and Polanyi, 1962) which render it less than purely objective. Indeed it would rest somewhere between Bottery's classification of personal and social levels of objectivity. He claims that there is no area of human

knowledge, which can claim to have total objectivity – science and all other areas of knowledge are at best tentative and changeable.

Even mathematics, which has traditionally been viewed as the paradigm of certain knowledge, consisting of absolute and unchallengeable truths, has been subject to severe criticism. Ernest (1991) discusses the relationship between philosophy and mathematics and proposes the view that mathematical truth is fallible and corrigible, and can never be regarded as beyond revision and correction. He then goes on to show how different educational ideologies promote different views of mathematics, and in turn these lead to often very different teaching and learning styles, schemes of work, and curricular materials within the area of mathematics.

Here then there are suggestions that the transmission of educational subjects is in itself value-laden. In addition, of course classroom management may indicate that teachers are likely to be passing on cultural values in terms of expected behaviours. The writers mentioned above concentrate purely on academic teaching and values. The presentation of facts as unchangeable is more likely in a primary school environment, where children are building up a framework of knowledge, and therefore destabilising elements are less likely to be included. There are also cultural aspects here in that education in some cultures is seen exactly as the transmission of static knowledge rather than as challenging. These writers do not deal with the differences in these two aspects. It is interesting to consider that 'values' comprise both static values and dynamic values. Static values can be seen as a store of what is considered good, to be drawn upon by people; Dynamic values can be seen as embodied in action. They may have interactive effect.

Beck (1993) argues that morality is closely related to values. If all values are integrated, then morality becomes an important part of a value system. Pring (1984:6) stresses the importance of moral development in value education by noting that values permeate the whole of personal and social education, and moral development is at the centre.

Morals are standards of behaviour and principles of right and wrong, which are shared by people from one society or nation but vary from one culture to another. Theft is considered immoral and illegal in many cultures. However this is not always the case. In a Kipsigis Community from Western Kenya, for example, according to Wagner and Stevenson (1982:271), it is not. When the interviewer asked the respondent, a leader in the community, 'Should Daniel steal a drug to save the life of a friend, if he cannot obtain the drug by any legal means?' the answer was: 'If it is his true friend, he should steal. With my great friend, we eat together, we drink together, we walk together. Then he will be willing to defend me when we meet an enemy. He will kill my enemy on my behalf, and also I in turn can steal the drug for him--because he is my friend.'

Here although the researchers do not explicitly ask the interviewee whether it is right or wrong to steal, the answer itself implies that it would not be wrong if you steal for good reasons. However, the researchers identify moral values from discourse with the respondent just as Pollard (1985) derives social values from a variety of dialogues with teachers. It is possible to question the reliability of the conclusion made by the researchers only based on one single person's point of view, a community leader where it is assumed, that in the Kipsigis Community from Western Kenya theft is not considered

immoral. Here there is a lack of supportive evidence of observed reality to make it a strong claim. In my own research, conclusions are not just made from the interview data where findings in terms of transmitted cultural values revealed in the discourse. Findings from classroom observations in terms of cultural values transmitted in the classroom practice are also systematically integrated in order to depict a fuller picture of the cultural transmission scenario.

2.3 Cultural transmission

This part of the section starts with a discussion of the transmission theory, and then the transmission methods. Pupils' understanding of culture and teachers' role in cultural transmission will also be looked at in general terms.

2.3.1 The theory of cultural transmission

Every community or society consists of human beings in the process of developing from children into adults. To assure continuity of culture, a society usually prepares children for adulthood early; and it takes care of the unavoidable remnants of infantility in its adults. The childhood learning, which develops, is highly specialised brain-eye-hand co-ordination, and all the intrinsic mechanisms of reflection and planning are characterised by prolonged dependence. Thus children can develop conscience, and that dependence on themselves which will make them, in turn, dependable; and only when thoroughly dependable in a number of fundamental values (truth, justice, etc.) can they become independent and teach and develop their culture. (Erikson, 1950:361).

Cultural transmission is the acquisition by one individual of a trait from another individual. It may involve long and complex learning processes. There is a clear statement in the English National Curriculum requiring schools to promote the 'spiritual, moral, social and cultural' development of pupils. In Key Stage 1 and 2 in the English National Curriculum, and the Morality Education Syllabus in the Chinese National Curriculum, there are requirements to teach a range of cultural, development and environmental issues. Hamilton (1977) points out that the influence of primary school continues into later stages of education and life, in terms of acculturating children for now as pupils and for the future as citizens in the society, it becomes more and more concerned with the kind of 'secondary socialisation'. Behaviour appropriate to the child's role as a pupil (particularly in terms of attitudes to authority and habits of work) is established at this stage of schooling. If, by the time the pupil arrives at the secondary school, the pupil role has not proved rewarding, it will be progressively resisted or abandoned, while those who have found through the role a satisfying entry into the world of knowledge or art or a sense of belonging will retain it. The RE Values Project Four Five (Williams, 1992), sponsored by the National Curriculum Council, has produced a framework for the teaching of values and beliefs.

Institutions both embody and transmit major constellations of values of a society, and schools are particularly important since they carry out this function quite explicitly. One problem, however, is establishing what values schools do put across to their pupils. The context of the school, its shared values and beliefs, and the quality of relationships between members of the school community are being seen as increasingly important elements which contribute towards pupils' moral, social and spiritual development. This

view assumes that the proper unit of analysis for moral development is the 'individual-acting-with-mediational-means' (Wertsch, 1991) and is thus embedded in a specific socio-historical, relational and cultural context. MacIntyre argues that adequate moral education must take place within some particular moral tradition, and pupils need to be initiated into the principles and values of a particular cultural tradition (MacIntyre, 1990).

A school's stated aims and objectives, or its 'distinctive cluster of goals with associated beliefs, attitudes and activities' (Hoyle, 1986:114), are a critical factor in determining the direction of the school which shapes the implementation of curricula. Both the content of the curriculum and the values of the whole school are shaped by ideas and values (Bottery, 1992), although mediation by the teacher is important.

The National Curriculum Council Discussion Paper on Spiritual and Moral Development (DfEE, 1993) suggests that the spiritual and moral development of pupils should take place in the area of the ethos of the school, the content of the curriculum and in the Act of Collective Worship. The values, which the school community promotes, are seen to be an important factor for fostering spiritual and moral growth in these aspects of school life. They create the norms and attitudes for behaviour and conduct in and around the school and serve the purpose of highlighting related issues in each subject area or scheme of work. They offer themes for celebration or discussion in assemblies. A major weakness of this document however is that it assumes such values can be simply 'added on' to schools' programmes rather than developing coherently out of the school's particular educational values and beliefs, which themselves will be sub-sets of a more general world-view.

Some authors view the transmission process negatively and others see it positively. Apple (1979) refers to three concerns which have recently been incorporated into the sociology of education: the actual and hidden content of schooling, the processes of teacher-student interaction within classrooms, and the common-sense categories that educators, students and sociological researchers use to order, guide and give meaning to their actions. All these concerns are related to a continuing interest in the question of cultural reproduction in a broad sense. These are Apple's (1979) questions:

- How are we to understand the role of schools as social and economic institutions?
- Do they merely reproduce the social division of labour?
- Do they increase opportunity, social justice and economic efficiency, or are they tied to the unequal control of and access to economic and cultural goods and services?
- How does what happens within schools – the curriculum, the meanings and patterns of social life, the routines and rituals – influence these developments? And
- What is it like to experience schooling for years?

Built into Apple's description of the problem is a belief that schools should be acting as agents for change, and not reinforcing (even by default) the injustices, which already exist in society. It is through this perspective that the conservative tendencies of schools have become visible and the relationship of cultural reproduction to economic and social change has begun to be seen as problematic.

The school is one of the major agencies for transmitting the dominant principles of interpretation within a society, and it is the teachers and their organisation of the environment of learning which transmit these interpretations (Bernstein, 1975). The school as an institution both embodies the aims and principles of the wider society and

exists as a world within which children come to know themselves. What 'themselves' might be, however, is partially in itself a construct of the school. This dialectic is seen by a number of theorists, notably Bourdieu (1974), as being a conservative dynamic, whereby social patterns are reproduced but legitimated by the school since the socially privileged are treated as individually gifted and thus legitimately rewarded.

It is the differential owning of 'cultural capital' passed on by the family, which accounts for the different achievement of children from different backgrounds. Bourdieu (1997) argues that the most powerful principle of symbolic efficacy of cultural capital no doubt lies in the logic of its transmission and the transmission of cultural capital is no doubt the best hidden form of hereditary transmission of capital. Therefore Bourdieu observes that the educational system plays a very important part and makes its contribution to the reproduction of the social structure by sanctioning the hereditary transmission of cultural capitals (Bourdieu, 1997).

So merely by treating children as equal, then, schools perpetuate inequality since all children do not come to school equally equipped to exploit what is offered. The judgement of the school then becomes internalised by the pupils and their parents as a matter of their own choice based on 'common sense' – a realistic assessment of the possible.

Mary Warnock (1996) calls for transmission of societal values in her article 'Moral Values' and argues that if everyone refused to obey the law, the law could no longer be enforced. If no one had any respect for the courts or the police, or the Parliament as the

legislative body, then anarchy would result. Since, she continues, the forces of the law or order are always in the minority, they could be rendered impotent, if everyone chose to disregard them. Warnock repeatedly stresses in her article that school teachers have the responsibility for the teaching of values.

In terms of purposeful education, it can be said, following Williams (1961), that there are three general purposes in education. Children are first taught 'accepted values and behaviour' of society, then the 'general knowledge and attitudes', appropriate to an educated person, and thirdly skills by which to earn a living and contribute to the well being of the society. Although these three purposes cannot be easily separated, it can be seen that the first two are intimately related to the question of 'values': what kinds of knowledge and attitudes are considered important in a society. Williams points out that the 'accepted values and behaviour' of a society are more than a question of behavioural habits and conventions. They embody and transmit a system of values, which finds expression in the institutions of that society and in 'the field of group loyalty, authority, justice and living purposes'. The school, above all, is the institution that embodies living purposes and holds responsibilities for 'cultural continuity and integrity' (Lowe, 1999). Here then transmission is viewed in a more positive light than that suggested by Apple, Bourdieu and Bernstein.

2.3.2 Transmission methods

Earlier in 1993, when discussing teachers' professional responsibility, Broadfoot and Osborn stress the priority of *process* over *products*. In effect, according to Broadfoot and

Osborn, it is the activities, the *process* of teaching, and learning itself, that are the primary focus for such a teacher's professional responsibility rather than the *products* of the relatively unreflective, unproblematic teaching which is the focus for a narrower definition of professional responsibility (Broadfoot and Osborn, 1993:122).

Here if we refer Broadfoot and Osborn's *process* to the teachers' classroom practice process, which includes both teaching and learning, and the *products* to the achievements in terms of my research, it would become apparent that effort in terms of both teachers and children is more valued than achievement, which confirms one of the findings of this research from England, and is consistent with that 'the English teachers' commitment...includes a concern to promote enjoyment of the learning process on a day-to-day basis' (p118), and furthermore, consistent with that 'We teach a subject not to produce little living libraries...Knowing is a process, not a product' (Bruner, 1968, cited in Alexander, 2000:548).

By referring to Dunkin and Biddle, 1974), and further developed than the three elements of Teasdale (1995), Alexander (2000) points out, there is a logical or temporal progression that yields six sets of variables whose relationship is theoretically amenable to scientific analysis: context-process, context-product, presage-process, presage-product, context-presage, and process-product. As Alexander further explains, for systematic studies of teaching the presage-context-process-product continuum remains the conceptual frame within which choices of method and focus are made, and in Britain, Alexander stresses, most such studies, including those in the more recent school

effectiveness paradigm, concentrate on *process* and *product*, to a lesser extent on *context*, and treat *presage* as relatively incidental.

According to Alexander, for either purpose of understanding teaching as a phenomenon or for the purpose of assessing the relative effectiveness or efficiency of different teachers and teaching methods, qualitative classroom research places *process*, *presage* and *context* centre stage and tends not to bother overmuch with *outcomes* (Alexander, 2000:270). Obviously the former purpose is what my research aims at – understanding teaching as a means of reinforcing culture.

From the point of view of this research, process is seen as very important and it is process that we focus on and in which the cultural values are transmitted to children. But how does one approach moral development? This is one issue that Helen Haste (1983) addresses by analysing two different approaches among psychologists. One of the approaches is that the 'moral' has tended to be equated with that which is socially accepted, behaviour which conforms to the requirements of good habits, control of impulse, and the acquisition of appropriate values. This approach, according to Haste, emphasises the cumulative learning process by which cultural values are transmitted to the child, and the mechanisms of conditioning which promote the development of guilt anxiety. The emphasis here is on the transmitter. The other is the cognitive-developmental approach which, Haste explains, assumes that the individual develops through active cognitive interaction with the physical and social world, and that what is manifested in the expression of morality is the way in which the individual has made sense of the moral world. The emphasis then is less on moral actions, and more on moral

intentions and on ethical understanding and on the receiver. There is a distinction drawn here then between imposition and interaction, as ways of learning (Haste, 1983).

It is interesting to find that an article as a result of a study on ways of teaching values reports the findings from a study carried out in the Netherlands by Wiel Veugelers from the University of Amsterdam (Veugelers, 2000). As the title of the article 'Different ways of Teaching Values' suggests, this research is concerned with the strategies in which the secondary school teachers involved teach values, but is not concerned with the values themselves. According to the article, analysis of the data collected through a written questionnaire shows that 'teachers teach values that they find important for their students', using four instruction strategies:

- The teacher tries not to express his/her own values;
- The teacher makes explicit which values he/she finds important;
- The teacher stresses differences in values without expressing the values he/she finds important; and
- The teacher indicates differences in values, but also expresses the values he/she finds important.

However, this research would have been made more meaningful if the details of the values taught by teachers had been identified and clarified. As it is, the values remain an abstract concept. More importantly, with no specific values identified, there seems to be lack of justification and clarification of the nature of the values that was researched, i.e., were they pedagogical values or cultural values or both? It is understood that cultural transmission is conducted both *consciously* and *unconsciously* in the teacher's practice. If Veugelers' research were concerned with cultural values, then the method of a written questionnaire without the researcher's being physically present in the field may seem to

lack ethnographical rigour and integrity of an ethnographic approach, especially when the research is concerned only with *conscious* transmission (strategies applied in teaching). Thus it fails to show a vivid picture of the classroom happenings to the readers only looking at the strategies consciously used in the transmission of certain teacher-find-important values leaving out the other important part of unconscious transmission. In addition, it is a study on secondary school teachers. So it is neither a study on primary school teachers nor one of cultural comparison.

Mary Warnock (1996), in addition to calling for cultural transmission in schools, also recommends some kinds of guidelines for the teaching of values. Three different ways in values teaching are suggested:

- first, a lesson – it may well be that the best way to start on such lessons is to get pupils at school to learn in their own society, the school, that people are to be trusted; that not everyone is self-interested or motivated solely by greed or ambition;
- second, teacher modelling – it may well be that an inspired example of a teacher who believes in order rather than anarchy, in justice rather than favouritism, in keeping promises and fulfilling obligations rather than neglecting them may be the beginning of a love of such values in his/her pupils which will be carried beyond school in the long run;
- finally, a whole school policy – it may gradually impress on pupils at the school that teachers can be relied on.

(Extracted from Warnock, 1996)

So this is an example of cultural values teaching process but still quite vague, and the teaching methods are all suggestions and are not grounded in any visible empirical research.

Can indoctrination then be employed in teaching? Beck (1990:77) argues that indoctrination, as seen, is in part a *method* of teaching which influences students to adopt

certain values without engaging their reason and free choice and induces an overly strong attachment to values. It should be recognised, however, that *some* 'direct influence' on students is necessary and indeed desirable in schooling; and being desirable it cannot strictly speaking be called 'indoctrination'.

In critiquing Emile Durkheim, Beck (1990:78) continues: 'To teach morality is neither to preach nor to indoctrinate; it is to explain. We must help the children understand the reasons for the rules s/he should abide by; otherwise we would be condemning her/him to an incomplete and inferior morality.' Here from my research's point of view, Beck's critique itself does not seem to make any differences to what was critiqued by himself. Indoctrination is in the first place not a method of teaching as Beck puts it but rather one way of describing the process. In theory, *to preach*, *to indoctrinate* and *to explain* are similar in essence, but different in presentation or different in means of *instructing*. Moreover, although it seems clear that Beck intends to distinguish between himself and Durkheim, he does not provide any detail on *how* to explain just as Durkheim did not tell *how* to preach or indoctrinate, not to mention that it may be inappropriate to claim that morality is taught through explaining because explaining cannot be the only means of transmitting morality and there are also other methods and strategies such as teacher modelling, setting up activities, to name a couple.

According to Bohannan (1963) there are two ways in which culture can be internalised. One is by habituation, and the other by purposeful education. During the process of habituation, human beings absorb those aspects of a culture, which are not regarded by the culture as specifically learnable techniques. In other words, the individual learns the

aspects of culture, which do not need specific teaching, the internalisation of which requires merely an interaction between the developing infant and the people around him. This long interplay between child and 'others' provides the child with those social potentialities necessary for him/her to act as a member of a particular socialising group.

Referring to Bohannan's (1963) two ways of culture internalisation – habituation and purposeful education, it is likely that both processes will be taking place in the classroom. However habituation is far less available to scrutiny.

Williams and Burden (1997:67), quoting Feuerstein *et al.* (1980), note that a teacher is a *mediator*, who represents, informs and co-ordinates a balanced package of culture, selects and organises stimuli that s/he considers most appropriate for children, shapes them and presents them in the ways considered most suitable to promote learning. S/he also intervenes in shaping the children's early attempts at responding to stimuli, directing and encouraging more appropriate responses whilst explaining why one response is more useful or appropriate than another is. The teacher then is highly instrumental in cultural socialisation (Bohannan's purposeful education).

From Beck's (1993) point of view, even apparent teacher neutrality in transmitting values is impossible to attain. Teachers are constantly transmitting values both through their behaviour and through what they teach. Try as they may, they cannot conceal their outlook on life from their students. Therefore, it needs to be recognised that values advocacy is an essential aspect of the teacher's role. Teachers may intervene to put a stop to misbehaviour, and in doing so, may explicitly deploy a strictly moral vocabulary. They

may say that it is wrong to tell lies; that bullying is cruel; that one must not harm or give offence to other people. Even if they use the device of asking a question 'How would you like it if you were at the receiving end?' or other devices for getting the child to comprehend, imaginatively, the equal importance of other people, there are still here implicit moral values being transmitted.

2.3.3 Pupils' understanding of culture

Despite the fact that in this study pupils are not the subject, it is important not to ignore the recipients of cultural values in the context in which teachers play their role. And what is more, what the children's needs are, what supposedly reflect the needs of the society, and how children understand values, are undoubtedly part of the teacher's knowledge in the process of cultural transmission. We saw also in Bohannan and Haste an emphasis on the child as the interactant in and transformer of experience.

Children are likely to behave on the basis of their understanding of what values are, or to be more concrete, what rightness or wrongness are. Kohlberg (1981) has proposed a comprehensive scheme for developmental and comparative research on moral understandings by identifying three major levels in the attainment of moral understandings and dividing each level into two stages.

In the lowest, 'preconventional' level of understanding (stages 1 and 2) young children define the meaning of 'rightness' and 'wrongness' in terms of the subjective feelings of

the self. What is right is what avoids punishment or brings one reward. If the self likes it, it is right, if the self does not like it, it is wrong. There are no 'higher' obligations.

In the intermediate, 'conventional' level of understanding (stages 3 and 4), older children and adults continue to define the meaning of 'rightness' and 'wrongness' by reference to subjective feelings, but now it is the collective feelings of others that matter. What is correct and virtuous is whatever agrees with the will and dictates of authority figures (the commands of parents; the role expectations of society; the laws of legislatures). If one's reference group likes it, it is right. If one's reference group does not like it, it is wrong. The idea of obligation is equated with the rules and regulations of society or the state.

In the third and highest 'postconventional' level of understanding (stages 5 and 6), 'rightness' and 'wrongness' are defined by reference to objective principles detached from the subjective feelings and perspective of either the self or the group. What is correct and virtuous is defined in terms of universalizable standards, reflectively constructed by the individual, of justice, natural rights, and humanistic respect for all persons, regardless of sex, age, ethnicity, race, or religion (Stigler, et al. 1990) .

However in this detailed scheme for identifying how children understand morals, Kohlberg discusses it from the perspective of cognitive development and fails to explain how this is reflected in pedagogic practice.

2.3.4 Teachers' role

Teachers' values, according to Nespor (1987), influence their classroom practice, from

the manner of their dealing with pupils, to their attitude to the content of the curriculum and the culture of the classroom or the school. Cultural values are important determinants of task definition and cognitive strategy selection because they, held consciously or unconsciously by an individual, form a way of looking at the world, and provide a framework or paradigm, which identifies what is, and what is not, of importance or worth (Nespor, 1987).

In terms of the teaching of cultural values, a teacher's role, which may be explained as the methods used and attitudes towards the teaching, is fundamentally important. Traditionally a teacher means a learned person who gives somebody or other people knowledge, skills, etc. The meaning extends to many others when cultural factors are concerned, though the teacher may maintain his/her true qualities of the role of a *teacher*. Thus s/he could be a guardian, who is a main determinant of knowledge content, teaching style, etc.; a constructor, or a facilitator, selector, trainer, expert, or transmitter, who passes on values seen as worth transmitting to pupils (Bottery, 1990:14). We have seen varying views earlier on who determines this 'worth' and how valid these judgements are.

The idea of guided participation as an important part of a teacher's role in the child's cognitive developmental process is one that Vygotsky (1978), Rogoff (1990) and Bruner (1996) share in common. Vygotsky (1978) emphasises that cognitive development occurs in situations where the child's problem solving is guided by an adult who structures and models the appropriate solution to the problem. Similarly, 'guided participation in social activity' is the term Rogoff (1990) uses to indicate the essential role of 'a more

competent member of their society' in the activity in which the social interaction takes place. Apart from guiding the child's participation, Rogoff also points out that the 'more competent member' or the 'companion' should provide support, direction, challenge, and impetus for the child's cognitive development (Rogoff, 1990:vii). Bruner was the first to use the metaphor of 'scaffolding' to depict the form and quality of the effective intervention by a 'learned' person in the learning of the child and to represent the special quality of the 'guidance' or 'guided participation' or in Bruner's term 'tutelage' of 'an adult or a more competent peer'. Unlike any other species, as Bruner further states, 'human beings deliberately teach each other in settings outside the ones in which the knowledge being taught will be used.' Therefore it is principally through interacting with others, that children find out what the culture is about and how it conceives of the world (Bruner, 1996:20). Here then there is a strong emphasis on the transmitter (the teacher) rather than on the transformer (the child).

2.4 Comparative cultural studies

Reviewing the literature, we find that much intercultural comparative research has been done over the last two decades between England and France (Broadfoot and Osborn, 1987; Broadfoot, Osborn, Planel and Pollard, 1996; Broadfoot and Osborn, 1993; Morgan and Cain, 2000; Osborn and Broadfoot, 1987; Osborn and Broadfoot, 1992), England and China (Jin and Cortazzi, 1996), England and the US (Litt and Parkinson, 1979), between England and France, India, Russia and the United States (Alexander, 2000); and between China, Japan and the United States (Tobin, 1987), to name but a few, in the areas of teachers' perceptions, pupils' perceptions, culture awareness and learning,

or academic achievement. Research on values education within a country include Pollard, 1985; Halstead and Taylor, 1996; Warnock, 1996; Haydon, 1998; Veugelers, 2000; Wilson, 2000, etc. I shall examine some of the research in the three areas to see how they are relevant to the *context, content* and *process* with regard to my research.

The discipline of comparative education has existed in a recognisable form since the early 19th century, and only recently have comparative researchers started to examine classroom practice as well as policy. By the late 1980s, however, academic comparativists were feeling the pressure from those with a more urgent interest, according to Alexander, in how British education, for example, compared with that of other countries (Alexander, 2000:1). As pioneers in this field, Broadfoot and Osborn (1993) conducted comparative research early in the mid-1980s, exploring the views of the teachers in England and France on their professional responsibilities and highlighting the fundamental differences in the educational provision of the two countries. The research has found that responsibility was valued by both English teachers and French teachers and as a result four dimensions of responsibility emerged for the teachers on both sides, which are: accountability to whom, responsibility for attaining objectives in relation to pupils, responsibility for areas of teaching, and meta-professional considerations (p78). Although all of these impact on the transmission of cultural values in the classroom, the researchers did not specifically focus on this. Following on from their research comparing primary teachers in England and France, Broadfoot, Osborn and their QUEST team carried out a study comparing primary pupils in England and France on their perspectives and experiences. With regard to the English side, among those findings relevant to the present research are differentiation and particularism testifying to

a culture in which individuality, or individualism, one of the key themes of my research, is the central principle.

In her comparative study of cultural values and pupils between England and France, Planel (1997), for example, explores the national cultural values and their role in learning and the complex relationship between culture and pedagogy with an aim of understanding how different cultural values towards education may affect pupil motivation, the learning process and in turn, pupil achievement, finding that culture has a formative influence on pupil learning. In other words, Planel's research deals with cultural values in terms of the context for what pupils say about learning rather than concentrating on the teachers' transmission of cultural values. Also in her 1996 study of comparing English and French pupil achievement, Planel (1996) argues that it is the social and cultural contexts which give meaning to pedagogy, suggesting that different pedagogies do work when mediated by cultural values. However, the result from my research shows that the English teachers value effort more than achievement. Researchers such as Broadfoot and Osborn (1993), Alexander (2000), and Pollard (1985) have already found that the English teachers prioritise effort.

Although the importance and influence of the role of cultural values in pupils' learning were stressed in Planel's studies, there is obviously a lack of space for detailed identification of what those meaningful cultural values are and also a lack of clarification of whether or how cultural values are transmitted in the realisation of the teacher's role. Planel focuses on academic cultural values and her findings need to be seen in this light. Thus she finds that responses from the English pupils showed that for them ability was

more important than effort, and the statement that "In English staff room discussions teachers often refer to the 'brightness' of individual children, contrasting that more French teachers prioritised effort or a work ethic" (Planel, 1997), seems to indicate that the English teachers prioritise ability, not effort.

Here then there is some comparison of cultural values in different countries and a consideration of the impact on teachers' views, but nothing specific on how this was translated into practice in the classroom.

Tobin, et al. (1987) investigate pre-school children, comparing Japan, China and the United States, looking at one school for one day in a general sense and find many cultural differences and also similarities among the respondents. Although they claim that they 'have visited hundreds of classrooms, heard from thousands of parents and children, and observed scores of teachers in China, Japan, Taiwan and the United States' (p14), we find that in discussing their findings concerning the three techniques: first, the term society is meant to be the action taker not purely the school teachers; secondly, it appears that the discussion of Technique 1, modelling [unfortunately not teacher modelling] and Technique 3, explicit teaching of routines, is based on information obtained from books or TV, etc. or from interviews (likely Technique 3) rather than from the classroom lessons, and only Technique 2 contains one classroom activity and one teacher interview question; and thirdly, only the terms of 'conscious' and 'explicit' transmission are mentioned but not 'unconscious' and 'implicit'. So their research, though in some way similar, is still largely different from my research here. Their study aims to suggest

educational reform on the American educational system, and cultural transmission does not seem in any way to be the focus of their three-culture study.

Alexander's *Five Cultures* (Alexander, 2000), comparing primary schooling in England, France, India, Russia and the United States, is structured around three levels of analysis: systems, schools and classrooms, and explores the ways in which children's educational experiences are shaped by culture and history. As the researcher himself explains, his *Five Cultures* study 'sought to describe, illustrate and explain primary education in five countries in terms of ideas about culture and power, schools, curriculum and pedagogy (Alexander, 2000:271). With the focus on both action and meaning, the vast *Five Cultures* book addresses five broad goals, one of which is unravel further the complex interplay of policies, structures, culture, values and pedagogy. We notice that although culture and values are given much importance, and some values are identified in the five countries in activities and discourse, this project acclaimed as 'unique' and 'bold' by Joseph Tobin and 'of insightful scholarship' by David Berliner has only identified those cultural values which are transmitted in the process of teaching, taking the findings from England for example (p225):

- school as community;
- teaching as both individualistic and collectivist;
- education as the development of the whole person and the nurturing of general and transferable qualities of mind ('learning how to learn');
- tolerance;
- respect for others;
- school and home in partnership;
- rewarding effort rather than achievement

Little effort, however, has been invested in giving the reader a clear idea of *how* those cultural values are transmitted.

In exploring recent work on concepts of ability and effort in Japan and the United States, Susan D. Holloway (1988) has found that, based on comparative studies, a growing body of research conducted in both countries suggest that effort is identified as the primary determinant of achievement in Japan, whereas it receives relatively less emphasis in the U.S. in comparison to ability and the concepts of ability and effort appear to differ between the countries, along dimensions that have implications for achievement motivation. In one study of fifth- and sixth-grade children in the U.S. and Japan, American children placed greater emphasis on lack of ability than any other reason to explain low performance in mathematics, whereas Japanese children stressed lack of effort (Holloway, et al, 1986).

The teachers from Japan and the United States, according to Hamilton et al. (1988), who compared teachers' perceptions of ability and effort, had different ideas, suggesting differences in the nature of verbal evaluations offered to their students. It appears that Japanese teachers are more likely to give feedback concerning academic procedures, while teachers in the United States are more likely to make comments about academic performance. It is obvious that Japanese teachers transfer the focus from children's abilities to the level of effort and thus avoid comments regarding academic performance.

In thinking about the context of England and China both in general in education, it is widely accepted, and much research has been done to discuss or to explore the accepted notion, that the prominent difference between the West and the East is between individualism and collectivism. The Chinese Deputy Prime Minister Li Lanqing (1996) points out in the preface of *Chinese Traditional Morality* (Luo, 1996):

'The Chinese traditional morality is an important component of the Chinese national spirit formed in its process of development, and to some extent, therefore, it is the core of the Chinese cultural traditions.'

(Li Lanqing, 1996)

In Chinese cultural traditions, Chinese traditional morality is valued as an integral part of great importance. Since the first complete moral norms system constructed by Confucius, the initiator of the thought of the Confucian school (Zhang and Fang, 1994:280), considered *ren* (benevolence) the most prioritised morality, requiring people to show love, respect, sympathy, and concern for others (Luo, 1995:14). The core and the persistent guiding principle of the Chinese traditional morality stress holism of for-the-society, for-the-nation, for-the-country and for-the-people (Luo, 1995:5), or for others, in the light of Confucian *ren*, but not in either case, for the self, which indicates that individuals are taught to put before their own, the interests of others, of the people and of the nation.

There are some studies in the existing literature that compare Chinese and other western cultural settings, and a few studies have compared England and China, but little research has been undertaken to compare England and China from the perspective of cultural values transmission.

There are studies by Cortazzi and Jin (1996) about ELT in China. In their 1996 article they summarise a number of features of cultures of learning contrasting England and China (see Table 2.4) by drawing on the data they collected in universities and schools in Britain and China between 1989 and 1995. Although their study does not compare England and China but is concerned with ELT in China, it shows in some way the

different emphases in cultures of learning in England and China providing a dissimilar scenario of cultures in the two countries from the perspective of learning, and it reflects the fundamental cultural difference –individualism and collectivism between England and China.

Table 2.4*: Different emphases in cultures of learning between England and China*

CHINA	UK
Knowledge from teachers and textbooks	Skills in communicating & learning
Collective consciousness: co-ordination, group support, social & moral learning	Individual orientation: personal needs, attention, talent, uniqueness
Teaching & learning as performance: pace, variety, presentation, virtuosity	Teaching & learning as organisation: pairs, groups, activities, tasks

Extracted from Cortazzi and Jin, (1996)

2. 5 Summary

The process of social development is one of cultural development. With human society entering the new era of electronics and information technology, the presence of TV and computer and Internet has brought changes in people's outlook and life styles. The diversity of definitions of culture given by researchers past and present may well manifest cultural dynamics itself. Some of the definitions discussed in this chapter may seem to be from decades ago, but they make a contrast with those up-to-date ones to reflect cultural dynamics in the developmental process, and they may be seen as applicable nowadays just as the theory of the evolution of species by natural selection advanced by Charles Darwin (1809-1882) over a century ago applies in this modern world as a well-tested truth, which may also have some guiding significance in terms of a dynamic culture this research is concerned with. However, as Luo (1999) points out when discussing 'making the past serve the present' referring to modern adaptability of ancient

Chinese cultural values, or Chinese traditional morality in other words, the general principle of 'carrying on the heritage critically' needs to be considered.

This chapter of literature review has in a broad sense discussed the definitions of culture and addressed the nature of cultural values. It has also explored the impact of values on the theory and practice of schooling in some depth. Some intra-national studies have identified cultural values (Osborn, 1996; Pollard, 1985), but none of these investigates how teachers transmit values. Researchers who have studied some methods of transmission (Warnock, 1996; Veugerlers, 2000) have not looked at content. However, these studies have provided valuable insights for the conducting of my research, particularly in terms of conceptualising the findings of this research. Some intercultural comparative research (Broadfoot and Osborn, 1993 and Alexander, 2000) concentrates on pedagogical perspectives but does not compare the countries from a social cultural values point of view. Other research which focuses more on cultural values (Tobin, et al., 1987 and Planel, 1997) considers examples of studies within the category of inter-country studies of cultural transmission, but they do not systematically explore how cultural values are transmitted in the process of classroom practice. As the literature shows, little research has ever been undertaken to specifically investigate and compare what and how cultural values are transmitted by primary school teachers in two or more different cultural settings. Thus this is the original contribution this research intends to make to the body of knowledge.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

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3.0 Introduction

This chapter elucidates a number of issues relating to the methodology and methods of the study, the purpose of which is to clarify and justify the positions taken. The first section revisits the research questions and the philosophical rationale for the investigation, and reports the choosing of the methodology applied in this research. The second section focuses on the collection of data; the third section reports on the process of data analysis; and finally the fourth section deals with validity and reliability of the study. The chapter ends with a discussion of a series of issues in relation to the validation and verification of the data.

3.1 Choosing a methodology

In conformity with academic rituals, most research reports have a rational and neat face; however, according to Burgess (1982) the way in which research is written up really constitutes a fraud because the actual process of doing research follows a different pattern from that represented in the report. Instead of using strong terms such as fraud, it may be argued that it is somewhat inevitable that the researcher is likely to present himself/herself in a light that is favourable. It is not surprising, therefore, that most researchers choose not to show the messy and clumsy 'backstage' area and this part remains unexplored in much research. Fortunately, some recent writings which reflect upon experiences in the field have somewhat changed this scenery (Broadfoot and Osborn, 1993; Hyde, 1994; Tobin, 1999; Vulliamy, et al., 1990).

This chapter tries to portray the backstage scenery and reveal some of the human dimensions that constitute this study and this reflection aims to further clarify the methodological position of the study. However, writing itself is, in fact, a kind of re-construction as well as re-inquiry and it is not just a mopping-up activity at the end of a research project. Form and content are thus inseparable (Richardson, 1994:516). There is only one form that can be chosen in any specific writing. Therefore, there are limitations in terms of what can be revealed. Polanyi (1962:43) once remarked that 'There is a dialectical relationship between the researcher, the subject of his interest and the historical tradition in which he works.'

In choosing an appropriate methodology and matching research techniques it is useful at the outset to consider the research questions posed. However, struggling with the questions is one way the researcher can help a relevant methodology to emerge. In turn this helps the choice of research methods such as semi-structured interview, classroom observation, etc. employed in the process of data gathering, analysis and interpretation to be consistent with the chosen epistemological approach. In other words the research process is a dialectical one, in which an internal coherence develops during the interplay among all aspects in relation to the questions, the methodology and the analysis.

The main research questions guiding this chapter are:

1). *What cultural values are transmitted in the classroom?*

2). *How are these cultural values transmitted?*

Such questions call for an evocative description of the lived practice of teachers, which, in turn, requires a further deeper interpretation and conceptualisation of the

phenomenon (van Manen, 1984; Weber, 1989). The questions also require the application of research techniques that are qualitative and naturalistic (Yinger, 1988) because the study is an exploratory one, the purpose of which is to better understand what teachers reinforce and how they do it in terms of transmission of cultural values. Thus, the methodology required will inevitably be a phenomenological one.

At the core of the phenomenological method is a disciplined approach to observation, interviewing and analysis (van Manen, 1990). It also requires careful evocative description and detailed systematic analysis so that the essential themes of the phenomena can be made visible. For the purposes of this study, the methods of the Utrecht School of Hermeneutical Phenomenology have been adopted (van Manen, 1990), in combination with the procedures suggested by Bryman (1988), Sherman and Webb (1990), Strauss and Corbin (1990), Crabtree and Miller (1993), Wolcott (1994) and Holstein and Gubrium (1995) for the data collection, interpretation and analysis. The overall conceptual model for the research is a constructivist or naturalistic inquiry with a strong hermeneutic element (Guba and Lincoln, 1989). The Utrecht school has attempted to create a methodology that can inhabit the world of education. In essence it stresses the dialectical and interpretative nature of lived practice and relies on linguistic and observational methods in the search for meaning. However, in the approach of my research, there is not much discourse analysis though some lessons are indeed transcribed. The emphasis then is mainly placed on the observed incidents or events. The data gathered does not rely solely on the recounting of 'thick description' (Geertz, 1975), but also demands rigorous analysis and theorising in the form of a thematic analysis; these themes represent the essence of the phenomenon and are usually expressed in a manner that links the research questions to the analysis.

In these terms, as Denton (1979) advocates, the search for research techniques must be suited to the aims of the research and the sorts of methodological approach, which underpin the study. Miles and Huberman (1984) suggest that researchers should provide detailed description of their research process so that the logic in use is clearly outlined and available to the reader. Despite the need for reporting methods, this desire for clarity is not helped by the fact that there are no fully established conventions in this area and much of the process is intuitive and highly personal.

As the meaning of the term 'ethnography' overlaps with that of several other forms of qualitative research methods, such as 'field research' described by Burgess (1993), 'case study' described by Pollard and Tann (1987) as well as those cited by Hammersley (1990) - 'qualitative method', 'interpretative research', 'participant observation', 'life history method' and 'ethogenics', they are 'compatible and complementary' (Yin, 1993:75) (see Table 3.1 below) and it is advisable to see ethnography as an umbrella term for different forms of qualitative research methods. It is believed that this combination of methods helps benefit from the advantages of each of the methods. By using the notion of 'multiple strategies' as quoting some writers, Burgess (1994:163) argues that the multi-method approach - the use of diverse methods – can be applied to tackle one research problem. In order to give as a full account of the research process as possible but noting the problems outlined by Miles and Huberman (1984), the rest of this section is structured around a series of sub-sections which constructs the methodology of a multi-method approach.

Table 3.1: *Relationship of three approaches*

Nature and scope			Types of approach		
			Ethnography	Case study	Grounded theory
Design	1	Assumes a single objective reality that can be investigated by following the traditional rules of social inquiry	No	Yes	Yes
	2	Can be used for theory-building	Yes	Yes	Yes
	3	Also favours theory-testing	No	Yes	No
	4	Considers context as essential part of being evaluated	Yes	Yes	Yes
Data Collection and Analysis	5	Favoured data collection technique	Participant observation	Multiple	Multiple
	6	Type of data to be analysed	Mostly qualitative	Quantitative or qualitative	Qualitative only

Source: Robert Yin, 1993:64, Table 4.1.

3.1.1 Why an ethnographic approach?

Ethnography is a method usually taken up by sociologists but one originally used by anthropologists to describe and understand other cultures (Edwards and Mercer, 1995). Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) define ethnography as follows:

> In its most characteristic form, it involves the ethnographer participating, overtly or covertly, in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions - in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research.

Ethnography, from the point of view of Tobin (1999:117-124), is a study of an insider's culture, privileging insider's meanings, told by an outsider, for a readership of other outsiders. Here in terms of the approaches of my research, we have thought of ethnography as looking at meaning in another way, the insider activities, which of course include meaning of some speech, but mainly that of action. However it is

inevitable that when you observe something in another culture which you find strange, or odd, counter-intuitive or inexplicable, you may need to ask the insiders from the culture to explain this practice and to help you understand the reasoning behind what they do and in this way to become familiar with culture through the observed incidents or events. But why work so hard to make the strange familiar? Because if you succeed in making the strange familiar, you end up making the familiar strange. In terms of this present study, the effect of ethnography should be able to help readers to understand the content of cultural values and the range of ways in which teachers mediate culture to pupils, and in so doing from the perspective of the researcher, to personally get familiarised with the classroom happenings in both settings, and defamiliarise some taken-for-granted assumptions in terms of the transmission of culture in the classroom.

Many researchers have adopted qualitative methods especially for their comparative research. The common aim of ethnographic studies is to produce a detailed and supported interpretation of the behaviour and perspectives of others and, by dwelling on individual teachers, ethnographic studies are able to amass extensive data about the teachers' practice and to offer more detailed accounts of the relationship between thought and action (Calderhead, 1997). Here it is necessary to make clear that my research does not deal with, in Calderhead's term, extensive data, but limited data which does not include a great deal of teachers' perceptions of their practice. This research is designed to find, as the research questions indicate, the priorities that arise in the culture transmitted and the methods and strategies used in the teachers' practice.

3.1.2 Why a case study approach?

One of the characteristics of a number of investigations into teachers' classroom practice is the case study approach. Here the focus is usually upon an individual or small cohort investigated in an intensive manner. This suggests that of the research models available the 'case study' with an interpretative framework would seem an ideal type for the answering of the research questions.

In distinguishing three broad approaches to teacher research, Crossley and Vulliamy (1997) suggest that ethnographic methods or case study can play a vital role in comparative education in examining the practice of schooling. They state that case study, as a research strategy, has a long history in both anthropology and sociology, where it is associated with ethnography and the intensive study, using participant observation, of a particular group or institution. Where schools have been the objects of study, this has led to the development of theories of schooling located either within an anthropological framework (e.g. Spindler, 1982) or a sociological one (e.g. Hammersley and Woods, 1976).

Bromley (1986) points to the undeserved low status of the case study as a research paradigm and urges researchers to use the method more frequently when designing investigations. During the mid-1980s, case studies were generally seen as a suitable method only where the *content* and *context* were novel or particularly complex and as such were probes, yielding material for subsequent more rigorous approaches. Hamilton (1977:71) found that case studies, compared with surveys, were regarded as a form of 'immature science' and were analyses of single settings or occurrences with no presumption that 'different instances can be thrown together to form a

homogeneous aggregate'. The rationale for the case study was that since social phenomena are 'person-made', the methods of natural science need not logically apply and that educational phenomena should determine the methods employed in their illumination. In contrasting case study with survey methods, Hamilton (1977) saw them as projecting different images of the world (artefactual versus natural phenomena), having different notions about human behaviour (active behaviour versus passive observation) and with differing ideas about scientific practice (interpretation versus generalisation), and, according to Hammersley (1997), providing more and more detailed data on each case studied, as well as allowing more scope for checking the validity of those data.

This robust defence of the case study is a useful starting point but it fails to address the issue of how to evaluate case studies and to challenge the idea that extensions beyond the singular remain problematic. Bromley (1986) provides a positive affirmation of the case study as the opposite of 'immature science', opposite to what Hamilton claims, and rates the strategy as one of the most powerful in the social science. The case study approach, he claims, combines notions of making a contribution to knowledge with recognition of the 'textural' qualities of persons and context. He goes on to assert that such studies can be of immense value as long as the individual, the context and events are described, analysed, interpreted and evaluated within a conceptual and methodological framework. This approach therefore is introduced as an example of the possibility of working towards a contribution to knowledge through the interpretative case study.

Alexander (2000) claims further that there is a sense in which the single educational case or the small collection of cases can be both insightful and typify more than itself

or themselves. Any one classroom can tell us a great deal about the education system and indeed the country of which it is a part if the culture in which the school in a country or state is located, is as powerful a determinant of the character of school and classroom life as are the unique institutional dynamics and if the research methods used are sufficiently searching to probe beyond the observable moves and counter-moves of pedagogy to the values and meanings which these embody. Even classroom research findings, Alexander goes on, which are generalisable in the statistical sense, may be of little value unless they lead to the formulation of general principles and theories which take our understanding, and our practice, forward. (p267)

Moreover, according to Herriot and Gross's (1979) case study assumptions (p13), findings of case studies can be useful in highlighting how the performance of those who manage cultural transmission can influence the behaviour of those who are expected to implement it. So it would be unjust for small-scale case researchers of cultures to be judged upon by the same canons that are used on large-scale quantitative researchers whilst the former prevails against the latter by its unique advantages. Bassey confirms Herriot and Gross's ideas and argues that the essential value of generalisation is that it can be used to predict events. And the value of the findings of a study of a singularity lies in the extent to which someone can relate their own experience to the singularity and so learn from it (Bassey, 1991), instead of relying on a quantitative claim of generalisability because of the result from the responses of a large population. Stevenson and Stigler's (1992:9) claim that 'whether or not the expectation (of the sample to be representative) is correct is a matter that can be decided only through further research'.

3.1.3 Why a grounded theory approach?

A grounded theory is 'one that is inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents' (Strauss & Corbin, 1990:23). Grounded theory is thus eminently interested in theory building, not theory testing. For this reason, grounded theory also incorporates the context into its investigations, because the boundaries of the phenomenon being studied may not be clear at the outset of the investigation.

Proponents of grounded theory give a basic warning in applying the method – avoid premature use of theory or prior conceptual categories (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Although investigators should have a good working knowledge of the previous research literature on the topic being investigated, this knowledge should not close their minds to emergent categories. The whole point of the method is to identify emergent categories from empirical data, by using qualitative data analysis methods (Glaser & Strauss, 1967:163-183).

The grounded theory approach, therefore, is a qualitative research method that uses a systematic set of procedures to develop an inductively derived grounded theory about a phenomenon. It can provide each investigator with procedures for analysing data, and the research findings constitute a theoretical formulation of the reality under investigation, rather than consisting of a set of numbers, or a group of loosely related themes (Strauss & Corbin, 1990:24-26). Although grounded theory is frequently cited among writers, Bryman and Burgess (1994) point out that it is questionable whether it is employed by researchers in its entirety. Richards and Richards (1994) argue that grounded theory generally influences qualitative research 'as a general indicator of the desirability of making theory from data, rather than a guide to a method for

handling data'. With regard to my research, although 'its entirety' was not employed, the general principles of grounded theory was used as, in Richards and Richards' term, 'a general indicator', and the procedure of open coding in data analysis was also found very useful in this research.

3.1.4 Why a comparative approach?

The growing internationalisation and globalisation trend has changed our cognitive map. While some cultural differences are diminishing, others are becoming more salient. Warwick and Osherson (1973:7) in their early work suggest that comparison in its broadest sense is the process of discovering similarities and differences among phenomena. It is central to the very acts of knowing and perceiving and essential to any effort at social scientific analysis. In Postlethwaite's point of view (1988), to 'compare' means to examine two or more entities by putting them side by side and looking for similarities and differences between or among them. In the field of education, this can apply both to comparisons between and within systems of education. Studying other systems can also help us to understand our own systems better and can make us aware of what we otherwise take for granted, in our own assumptions and biases. Michael Sadler (1900) wrote:

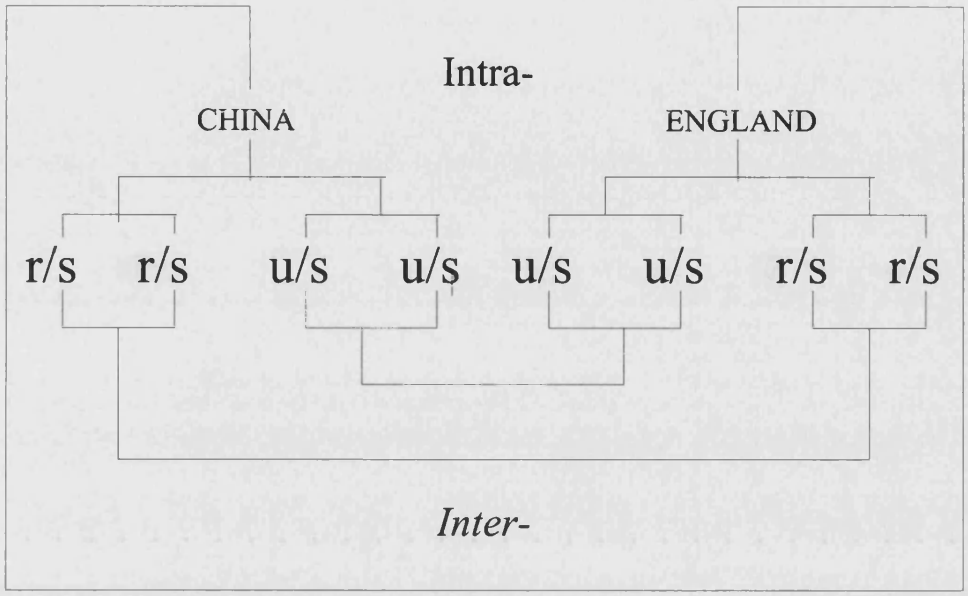
> The practical value of studying in the right spirit and with scholarly accuracy the working of foreign systems of education is that it will result in our being better fitted to study and understand our own (Cited in Higginson (1979:50).

Tobin (1999) describes an interesting story observed in one of his studies (see Chapter II). Two four-year-old girls in an ordinary Japanese day-care centre were filmed walking down a short flight of stone steps to get to the playground. What is

remarkable about the scene is that each girl is carrying a plump baby in her arms that she has collected from the nursery. The response of Western audiences who watched the video is an immediate thinking of dangers of allowing an infant to carry a baby with an inevitable question 'Who would be liable if there was an accident?' But what the Vice-principal of the nursery said was what really surprised the researcher Tobin, 'The girls won't drop the babies. They *love* the babies. It is a common occurrence and helps the four-year-olds to develop empathy with others, as many of them have no brothers or sisters.' (Tobin, 1999). This story shows that people from different cultural backgrounds may look at one cultural phenomenon differently although of course people within a culture can also have different interpretations, and more than that, an understanding or knowing of a different cultural phenomenon can be achieved from a comparative perspective.

It is accepted that for an insider it is easy to run the risk of taking cultural values for granted and to lose the opportunity of viewing cultural phenomena from alternative perspectives. King (1962:346) thus suggests that we should try to see ourselves as remotely as possible. One of the best ways of doing this is to fasten our attention on other cultural systems. This provides another useful approach and justifies the value for undertaking a study like this present one, which compares two distant cultures, between classrooms from the East and from the West (see Figure 3. 1) as well as potentially varying classrooms within countries.

Figure 3.1: Intra- and Inter-comparison of Cultures
* r/s = rural school; u/s = urban school



Considering the specification of this research, based on all the above discussed research methods, it was decided to adopt a multi-method approach – an approach using ethnography, grounded theory, and multiple case comparison in my study of culture.

3.2 Choice of subjects and contexts

This section will present the process of choosing schools, the subjects, the contexts, timing and schedule of the fieldwork, and gatekeepers and initial contacts with the subjects. It intends to report on the access to data and draw as full a picture as possible.

3.2.1 Choice of schools

As Figure 3.1 shows above, both rural schools and urban schools were chosen for this research; this section explains why and how two rural and two urban schools were chosen in England and China.

It was initially decided to select four schools all from urban areas considering easy access to subjects, the time limitation and economy. However using insights from the England-France comparative study (by Broadfoot and Osborn, 1993), the design of the research changed and it was decided to choose two urban schools and two rural schools from each country in order to strengthen the rigour of comparison. It was thought that more perspectives could emerge from schools in different areas in terms of socio-economic background, and environment of living, teaching and learning.

The four schools on both sides were basically chosen on a basis of availability and convenience. In England the two rural schools were selected through a local official channel, and the two urban schools were accessed because one of them was the school my daughter was attending then and the other one was the school that my daughter formerly went to. The four schools in China were chosen by one of my friends working in the provincial education department, which was then called the Education Commission. In terms of the number of schools chosen, as a single-handed study within the restricted period of time, a single case study could have been chosen, but four schools were selected from each country as a multiple case study to increase the generalisability and validity of the study with minimal loss in ethnographic depth.

3.2.2 Why Year 6 teachers as the participant sample?

As there are many practical considerations constraining the researcher, it seems appropriate to limit myself in the empirical research to one age group in the two different educational settings. For this fundamental research, it was decided on teachers of 10-11 year olds from Year 6 in the light of the existing findings in the literature.

Although this research is not about children but about their teachers, it is very important to take into account what age group children the teachers teach. It may be argued that all teachers play an important role whatever age group they teach. For conducting a study like this present one, you may work with teachers teaching children from any one age group. However, not every Year Group teachers will make the research similarly significant. According to some developmentalists, e.g. Judy Dunn (1987), the processes of cultural identification start at an early age and by the age of 6 children have developed some type of cultural identity. Hofstede (1991:8) points out that developmental psychologists believe that by the age of 10, most children have their basic value system in place, and after that age, changes are difficult to make. Through using a technique in which children expressed preferences for ethnic dolls, for example, Genesee, Tucker and Lambert (1978) found that the identity of the children they were investigating was well established by the age of 10.

Choosing teachers of children of this age, at this level of knowledge and before the end of their primary education and with a basic value system in place seems profoundly significant in terms of cultural transmission, in our investigation of what is transmitted and how this is done. Edwards and Mercer (1995:4) also suggest that the

8-10-year-olds have been given particular attention by developmental cognitive psychologists. Children of this age group have been in the school system long enough to have acquired some general understanding of how schools work, in terms both of their function as social institutions and of the nature of particular educational activities. So they are children who are not naive about school and in fact will soon leave their primary schools for a turning point in their lives – secondary schools. So it would be interesting to view teachers at this level of psychological development and the most sophisticated level in the primary education. What is more, this is the last year of one teacher per class, the generalist teacher in England, and in China, where although there are specialist teachers in the primary sector, there is still a more limited number of teachers for primary pupils than in secondary schools.

3.2.3 Why the class meeting in China?

The fieldwork first started in England, and each teacher interview of 30 minutes was made before the classroom observation. I attended lessons and assemblies, nine half-day sessions at each school. In China, with a similar time frame, I observed lessons, and sessions of class meetings, which added an extra dimension of cultural richness to this empirical research.

A class meeting is a routine necessity on the school schedule. It is held once a week as one occasion when discipline gets strengthened and all manner of things get straightened out. As Wang and Wang define it, 'the class meeting is an effective form and an important front for the Class Teacher to carry out ideological and moral education to the pupils.' (Wang and Wang, 1998:536). According to Gao and Huang (1998:117), the Class meeting plays an important role in seeking unity of all

children's thinking and action and in the formation, consolidation and development of a class collective.

The class meeting as a classroom event in China appeared to reveal more useful data than any other subject lessons. After spending so much time in searching for useful incidents in the pile of field notes and recordings of twenty 90-minute tapes made in the four Chinese schools, I had to accept the fact that in the data obtained from subject lessons, two transcripts of which are placed in the appendices (see Appendices 7.1 and 7.2), it was *pedagogical* matters and activities that appear to be dominant (except for some occasional encouraging terms as compliments for active or correct answers and reproaching terms as stimulus for wrong answers or failure to give answers). By contrast a class meeting, due to its nature as discussed above, presents a richness of cultural values and also reveals methods of transmitting values used in dealing with them.

3.3 How was the data collected?

This research dealt with primary school teachers, with the focus on their practical classroom transmission of culture. The data was collected from transcripts of interviews and classroom observations, field notes and supporting evidence, including official documents.

3.3.1 Planning the fieldwork

With the research planned to focus on cultural phenomena, observations were scheduled to take place prior to Christmas in England and prior to the Chinese New Year in China, originally in the hope that the traditional cultural events or customs

would yield characteristics of 'an unduly rich concentration of cultural forms, and activities' (Bennett, 1981). Table 3.1 below shows the planning of the fieldwork of the research.

Table 3.1: *The planning of the fieldwork*

time	action	country	
		England	China
May-June,1998	Locating subject	4 schools	4 schools
June-July, 1998	Initial subject contact	Yes	No
September, 1998	piloting interviews	Yes	Yes
7 Nov.-14 Dec.1998	field work	Yes	
17Dec.98-18 Jan.1999	field work		Yes

Instruments of a tape recorder and a camera were used for the data collection, together with a pad for field note taking. During the course of data collection, tape recording proved to be a very useful tool. One cannot rely completely on memory in interviewing and observation, and tapes can be permanent records of primary information. Bernard (1994:222) suggests that a tape recorder be used in all cases except where informants specifically ask for this not to be used. During the process of data collection from interview to observation in both countries, the recordings added up to 78 hours (52 ninety-minute tapes). However in one English school the teacher did not allow any recording because, as the teacher explained to me, the parents would not be happy to know that their children were recorded in class and because for the same reason, he said, he also turned down a local MP's request to visit his class: 'Who knows what children of this age would say and do?' he said. Although no tape recording was allowed in this school, which really made my life very difficult, I made every effort to compensate for this and tried to make notes of each lesson observed as

much as I possibly could (see Field Notes in Appendices 2.4, 3.5 and 4.4). Lots of useful data were ultimately written down and the notes proved to be useful. It was possible to use these notes as a source of data.

Taking photos added much colour to the whole research activity and the effectiveness of the photographs in presenting data was beyond expectation. 'Thinking display' is one of the important suggestion by Miles and Huberman's *Qualitative Data Analysis* (1984). Photography in particular can offer the researcher a way of incorporating ambiguity without getting caught up in it into analysis by including photographs as 'visual facts' that can be presented with or without interpretation. For the findings-oriented researcher, as Wolcott (1994:31) notes, graphic presentation - photographs, film and videotaping can offer an alternative to prose not only for conveying information but also for dramatising or emphasising particular aspects of a study. In Alexander's case, for example, 36 photos delicately and thoughtfully displayed at the end of the book, vividly show episodes of the school life of the five cultures. However it is a shame that these valuable photos of rich cultural resources appear to have rarely been used or referred to in the book. In analysing the data in this research, frequent reference is made to the collection of 40 photos provided in Appendix 1.

3.3.2 Gatekeeping and access

Researchers can find it difficult to gain access to the subjects within the primary and secondary education sector. Hammersley and Atkinson (1996) have defined gatekeepers as actors with control over key sources and avenues of opportunity. If there is a project involving pupils in England, before you can safely approach the

children, you need to go through the LEA first (though not always necessarily), the school secretary, the headteacher and the class teacher.

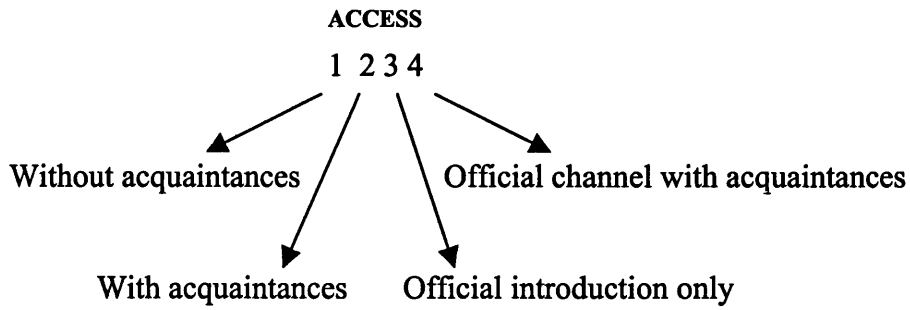
In this case the research involved locating four schools in England. I managed to gain access to two urban schools in Bristol, one of which was my daughter's former school and the other her then school. It was in June 1998 that I started initial contact with the two schools (numbered as School 3 and School 4 in the report), meeting the two headteachers and the two class teachers. In early September, with the help from Dr Yolande Muschamp, a senior lecturer from the Education Department of the University of Bath and Dr Lynda Huckman, an education officer of South Gloucestershire, located two rural schools in South Gloucestershire (numbered in the report as School 1 and School 2). Without Dr Muschamp's liaison and Dr Huckman's authoritative support, I would have found himself in a difficult situation as it is understood that as many researchers may have experienced, gaining access to schools is difficult.

From my own experience of gaining access to eight subject schools, it was concluded that relationships play a key role in locating subjects for research, and a researcher needs to hold at least one of the following relationships in order to gain access to the subjects:

- personal relationship (one between the researcher and the school);
- liaison relationship (one between the researcher, the liaison – your friend, teacher or any acquaintance, and the school); and
- authority relationship (one between the researcher or the acquainted, the authority and the school)

Therefore from the perspective of personal relations and the power of authority, these may form four different types of contact (see Figure 3.2):

Figure 3.2: *Access to schools*



In the case of the present research, the access to the two Bristol schools was granted because my daughter was (once or then) a pupil of the two schools, and they personally knew me; the access to the two rural schools was because of Dr Yolande Muschamp, who had much experience in working with primary schools, and had acquaintance with Dr Lynda Huckman, as mentioned earlier.

An implication of *relationship* in obtaining access to subject schools is that both eastern and western cultures stress social awareness. But it could be said that the two cultures value *relationships* differently. In western cultures, the term relationship means *trustworthiness*, whilst in Chinese culture, relationship relates to *face*. The following analogy may shed a new light on the two different concepts of relationship in comparison.

> A conversation goes on between a western boss and a Chinese boss about whether they would each employ a person as a computer programmer, recommended by Bill Gates. Both of them give a positive answer and ask each other for the reason of the decision made. The western boss answers, 'We trust that a person recommended by Bill Gates is no doubt competent for the job.' 'We shall use this person to show due respect for Bill Gates's feelings,' replies the Chinese boss.
>
> (Web site: www.cnd.org , No. 18, Feb. 1999)

In terms of this research, it was trust that counted throughout. The two urban schools trusted me as a parent of one of their pupils; Dr Muschamp trusted me as a student

from the Department of Education and promised to help; Dr Huckman trusted Dr Muschamp as a colleague and took the trouble to fix the two rural schools; and finally the two rural schools trusted Dr Huckman as an responsible education officer and allowed the access. It was trust that made the four schools in England accessible. Also on the basis of trust and inevitably due to the official involvement in this study, I felt I was not only an observer but also a respected guest and even looked after in every possible way by the teachers in both countries.

In China, one of my friends, Mr Fang, who works in the Education Commission of the Xinjiang Province, played a major role in locating the four subject schools. His friend, Director of the Teaching and Research Centre of the Education Commission of Urumqi City, the Capital of the Province, attended to the matter personally. The four schools, two urban and two rural, were chosen, or given preferential consideration to be more exact, in the name of 'a project from the top', the Education Commission of the Province, so that on the second day of my arrival, at a first meeting dinner I gave in honour of the headteachers and class teachers, one of the rural school headteachers declared with much excitement, 'We are very pleased and greatly honoured to be chosen, but we haven't done enough [a self-deprecatory expression; the underpinning conception is that you are chosen because you are outstanding]. It is a real privilege to have an opportunity to contribute to this project and we will try every effort to do anything possible to support the research.' The other rural headteacher also said: 'From now on, during the research period, this project has the top priority and all teaching activities serve the research. The time schedule is to be set to your convenience. Lessons can be swapped when it is necessary. We will spare no effort to support you and to meet the requirements of the research.'

Thus in China the contact was more 'official' and this may have had some bearing on the research outcomes as is discussed in more detail below.

3.3.3 Semi-structured in-depth interviews

As well as using observation in classes, I interviewed all the class teachers. As it is understood, the interview has a wide variety of forms and a multiplicity of uses. Different types of interview are suited to different situations, and can be used to obtain details of situations, which I did not witness (Burgess, 1982), in this case teachers' previous practice, and also to obtain insiders' views: in this research to gather perceptions from teachers on their own practice. To pit one type of interview against another is a futile activity (Fontana and Frey, 1994). In any qualitative study it is possible and sometimes desirable to apply different types of interview, which complement each other. Generally speaking, interviews have the following advantages:

> a. responses with greater richness and spontaneity;
> b. improved response rates;
> c. interviewers can give a well-prepared explanation of the study purpose to the respondents; it is easier to reach less well-educated respondents; more standardised explanations can be offered to certain questions that arise; it can prevent many misunderstandings.
>
> (Oppenheim, 1992:82)

There are three commonly used types of interview: unstructured interviews, semi-structured interviews and structured interviews. A semi-structured interview was chosen for this research, because

- the unstructured interview is too informal and characterised by a minimum of control over the informant's responses. In addition, it is even more difficult to control

when interviewing teachers in England as English is not the my mother tongue and the social distance between myself and informant exists as an obstacle before a good relationship can be established with each other; and the consistency of the interview type and comparability of the data generated from the interviews had to be taken into consideration.

- the structured interview is an inflexible set of stimuli (Bernard, 1994:237). It is formal and restricts the informants from opening up freely and expressing themselves in their own terms and at their own pace.

- the semi-structured in-depth interview fits different contexts and was deemed most suitable for this research. It is based on the use of an interview schedule, which had been tested through piloting, while at the same time enjoying much of the free-wheeling quality of unstructured interview, people being able to open up and express themselves in their own terms and at their own space.

There were eight short interviews with the eight teachers, four in each country. All of the interviews were individual, face-to-face verbal interchanges, the majority of, which lasted 30 minutes as planned. Regarding the location, all were held in the interviewees' work settings. The interviews took place at different times but all before any observations during the first week of fieldwork.

Prior to any field work though, two pilot interviews were carried out in Bristol, one with a staff member in one of the subject schools and the other with two Chinese students who had some experience of teaching primary pupils in China. Piloting the interview was an essential step to take before interviewing the chosen subjects.

Considering the fact that I would not be able to speak English as confidently as my native language of mandarin Chinese, testing the questions with an English teacher was very useful. It helped me familiarise myself with questions, with the speed of speech, the tone and manner of speaking, and more importantly to gain confidence in asking questions to teachers, who were almost strangers to me but experts in English and in teaching pupils. Since the interviews with the four Chinese teachers in China would be carried out in Chinese, the pilot interview with the two Chinese students was conducted in Chinese. The pilot work also tested the time needed and the type of questions raised.

During the 30 minute interviews, basic 'what' questions were asked of the four Year 6 primary school teachers from each country so that these led to the development of 'categories, properties and their dimensions' (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:77). A scripted agenda was much thought about, and prepared in the hope that the questions to be asked would be helpful ultimately in addressing the two main research questions. Examples from the agenda included:

- What do you know about the children's family background?
- What do you do when a child damages a piece of public property?
- What is your opinion on achievement and effort in regard to top pupils and bottom ones of the class?
- What do you normally do if a child fails to do his/her homework?
- What do you usually do with a child who is very helpful to others?
- How often do you see the parents in a term and on what occasions?
- How would you deal with children's conflict, especially a conflict between children from different ethnic groups?

- How do you treat 'good people and good deeds'?
- Apart from imparting textbook knowledge to pupils of Year 6, what else do you think is important elements in our teaching in terms of 'educating people'?

These questions were decided on in the light of the reading of literature for the purpose of addressing the research questions and they were not designed to ask teachers for their perceptions regarding cultural transmission since this might be misunderstood. Instead, 'what' and 'how' questions were asked mostly in relation to sorts of children behaviour, home and community backgrounds. The whole idea of asking such questions was to obtain some brief impressions about the cultural values expressed and reflected in their speech in the interview. The interviews with the teachers not only provided information about their perceived cultural values but also functioned as a starting point for getting to know the teacher, or for us to know each other. This knowledge helped to inform my classroom observation.

In addition, informal conversations with teachers were conducted as a complementary measure 'to build greater rapport and to uncover new topic of interest that might have been overlooked' (Berbard, 1994:209).

3.3.4 Participant observation

Participant observation was the key activity in my fieldwork. Participant observation is the means observers use to reach a culture from within (Friedrichs and Ludtke, 1974). Bryman (1988:61-66) has provided a useful list of the principal characteristics of much observational research, as follows:

- 'Seeing through the eyes of': 'viewing events, actions, norms, values, etc. from the perspective of the people being studied'.
- Description: 'attending to mundane detail... to help us to understand what is going on in a particular context and to provide clues and pointers to other layers of reality'.
- 'Contextualism': 'the basic message that qualitative researchers convey is that whatever the sphere in which the data are being collected, we can understand events only when they are situated in the wider social and historical context'.
- Process: 'viewing social life as involving interlocking series of events'.
- Flexible research design: 'qualitative researchers' adherence to viewing social phenomena through the eyes of their subjects has led to a wariness regarding the imposition of prior and possibly inappropriate frames of reference on the people they study'. This leads to preference for an open and unstructured research design, which increases the possibility of coming across unexpected issues.
- Avoiding early use of theories and concepts: rejecting premature attempts to impose theories and concepts which may 'exhibit a poor fit with participants' perspectives'.

However, in this play the role of the key players is demonstrated through these three key elements: *content*, *process*, and *context*, which means that I placed myself in the teaching contexts of the school classrooms in both countries, explored the content in relation to the national culture, and examined the process of teaching, in which teaching methods and strategies were employed. Teasdale (1995) explains the three elements as follows, which justifies the application of them in my research:

The *content* is the knowledge and wisdom that gives meaning and purpose to the life of the group, and to the lives of the individual within it; the *processes* whereby that knowledge and wisdom are analysed and stored, and by which they are transmitted from generation to generation; and the actual settings or *contexts*, in which knowledge and wisdom are analysed, stored and transmitted.

Crabtree & Miller (1993:47) suggest that when observation is used to investigate cultural groups, the researcher can benefit from the following advantages of this method:

- the researcher is able to witness the phenomenon and the context as they occur;
- knowledge of cultural values in what people say and what they do;
- questions can be formed in the language of those being researched;
- the context can be observed as it unfolds in everyday life;
- many research interests cannot adequately be investigated by any other means.

Here then key aspects such as attention to detail, being aware of context and of insider perspectives and a general openness, were useful pointers for my own research approach.

Sapsford and Jupp (1996:61) have put forward two major approaches to observation: more-structured and less-structured. The aim of the more-structured observation is to produce accurate quantitative data concerning the frequency, duration or quality of particular behaviours. The aim of the less-structured observation, however, is to produce detailed, qualitative descriptions of human behaviour that illustrate social meanings and shared culture, and to develop a theory, which tends to be grounded in the data. As my research is a qualitative study, a less-structured observation approach was adopted.

During the process of observation sessions, the structured framework of questions brought to the classrooms in England and China were based upon 'What, in what situation and in what way, appears to be implicitly or explicitly transmitted?' focusing on:

- what cultural values appear to be implicitly or explicitly transmitted?
- in what ways is cultural content transmitted?
- in what class/school context is culture transmitted?
- what cultural beliefs/assumptions appear to be reflected in the teacher's talk and behaviour?
- what cultural artefacts are on display - books, pictures, etc...?

Lessons and activities observed in England included:

- various subjects, such as, English, Maths, Geography, etc.;
- school assemblies;
- church services;
- play-time on the playground
- Christmas plays, parties and fairs;
- and others, such as Christmas dinner with teachers, etc.

Lessons and activities observed in China included:

- the subject of the Chinese Language only [because this research is concerned with class teachers on both sides, and class teachers in China normally teach the subject of Chinese language];
- class meetings;
- children's New Year's parties;
- play-time on the playground;
- and others, such as attending a meeting with local township government leaders, having a New Year dinner and a party with staff members, etc.

The duration of the fieldwork in both countries was as follows: 4 months' coverage in total in the two countries; 4 weeks field work in each country; 3 weeks in each school - 3 days a week, 3 hours a day, thus 9 half-day sessions in each school in England and nine lessons in each school in China. It was initially designed that the schools would be visited respectively, finishing observations of nine sessions in one school and then starting with the next school, but it was later decided that I visit the four schools concurrently to avoid any established patterns of classroom practice in the preceding schools that might be potentially affecting the observations in the subsequent schools.

Additionally, at the request of two rural teachers in England and all the four teachers in China, and also in the spirit of participant observation, I gave a lesson to the pupils answering all sorts of questions concerning the children's school life in the other culture. In the meantime the English pupils were presented a real eye-opener of some Chinese visuals, and the Chinese children's eyes were feasted on many photographs taken in the English schools. When the fieldwork came to an end, presents were given to individual teachers and their schools as an expression of gratitude for their contribution to the research.

3.3.5 Documentary sources

Documents collected included the National Curricula, the relevant textbooks, handbooks, school prospectuses, newspapers, etc. These were later used in the case construction and served as a useful crosscheck on the primary interview and observational data.

3.3.6 Ethics

Any study, which has the individual at the heart of the research process, is bound to encounter a number of ethical problems. Fundamentally ethics is about treating other people with the respect that one would wish for oneself. It was important at the outset to establish some parameters so that issues regarding disclosure, sensitivity and trust were firmly secured. During the first meeting with each of the eight teachers, they were all assured that the use of the data was to be confined to the study in question, and that in any final accounts the anonymity of all teachers would be preserved or alternatively they would be given pseudonyms or code names. It was promised that the transcripts and final interpretations and descriptions would be sent to the subjects for confirmation and verification, and written materials were sent to all the eight teachers. Of the four Chinese teachers, I contacted three in early October 2002 just before I returned to England because the other teacher was on a short training course in south China, Guangzhou. Among the four teachers in England, two teachers have replied with written comments and suggestions. All the three Chinese teachers and the two English teachers positively verified my transcription and interpretation. Here I present some of their comments below:

The English teachers:

Mrs VB: It was very interesting and quite unusual for me to read about your observations as usually the observations are about delivery of lessons, subject matters, activities, etc. So it was indeed interesting reading it from an entirely different point. There were a few typographical errors but that is all. Well done

Mr HS: Many congratulations on your thesis. I enjoyed reading it very much. You are obviously very perceptive and sensitive to children's needs...Good luck to you. And who knows, maybe we shall meet again one day

The Chinese teachers:

Mrs SJ: [Mrs SJ is now working at a different primary school as Director of teaching affairs]...I never bothered myself about what you were writing down or analysing. I was teaching as I always did. I think when I praised or criticised a child, I never thought of deliberately teaching cultural values. I just did what I did, said what I said. But now from what I read and what I hear from you, and think back about my lessons, I think you are right and I think I meant to raise their awareness of, say, love, love the class collective

Mrs LD: Basically consistent with what I meant. I had that class meeting indeed with the intention of those three boys concerned and in the meantime educating the whole class. That was educating children by modelling, either positive or negative experience...children of that class often come to visit me including the boys criticised in the meeting

Mrs YZ: I actually didn't think that much, and that was the way I teach. Educating pupils is our duty. But I realise now and I will be more aware of values in my teaching. I learned something from you and you broadened my mind on that...

Through the above comments given by the teachers, it can be said that teachers transmit cultural values more often unconsciously than consciously. Put simply, teachers do transmit cultural values in their classroom practice, but they may not be aware that they are doing it and may not be aware what the cultural values are that they are transmitting to their pupils. Thus studies such as the 2000 Veugelers study, which looks at the strategies teachers use in transmitting values do seem to be an

incomplete view of the full picture of cultural transmission in class since strategies appear to be the product of conscious thinking.

3.4 Context of data analysis

Before coming to the analysis of the data, it is helpful to consider the context of the data analysis and research. Firstly I start with a reflection on myself, a researcher as an observer during the time of fieldwork.

3.4.1 Myself as a researcher

Any researcher will bring some sort of bias to the interpretation of the data that is found. Cultural perception bias may be something that can be minimised but not eliminated. As Halls (1990:27) warns, the foreigner brings to the study of another system his own cultural prejudices, which may tend to cloud the judgement and invalidate conclusions. This question of unconscious bias has exercised researchers in comparative education greatly in recent years. It seems inevitable that your view or interpretation of a phenomenon of a different culture is likely to be affected by the mindset of your own culture.

It has been suggested that during data analysis the researcher should never take anything for granted. It is particularly difficult to recognise and challenge any assumptions based on a researcher's own personal and cultural perspectives. It is acknowledged that interpretation in qualitative research is influenced by the position of the observer (Spindler and Spindler, 1993). Beattie (1981) also argues that it is an epistemological commonplace that people see what they expect to see, and the categories of their perceptions are largely determined by their social and cultural

background. All knowledge springs from an interaction between the object investigated and the culturally shaped investigator (Thomas, 1995) and any such problem should be seen as a limitation not a deterrent.

Interestingly there is a saying in China from those who have returned after having stayed long abroad, say in the US, implying that these people belong to nowhere – 'In America, they are not American, and back in China, they are not Chinese.' Although this may not apply to everyone, it is nevertheless acceptable in terms of pointing to the fact that culture is dynamic and not static. While you are away abroad, culture at home changes and develops without your possible awareness. Although by the time you return where you belong you may be surprised to realise a gap existing between the culture you were familiar with and the one in which you find yourself a stranger embracing a culture shock as you did when you first went abroad. The fact is that you are a person returning home with some knowledge of a different culture, which may have changed your outlook. You find yourself back in your own culture and this knowledge of the other culture or an understanding of it at least, may remain as part of the body of your knowledge.

This does apply to my case. However, it can also appear to be a privileged situation for a researcher to be in from the point of view of this cultural research. It made possible a switching between an insider and an outsider in the field, or in other word, 'making the familiar strange' and vice versa.

In undertaking the fieldwork in England, it was obvious that this was a foreign country of a different culture that I previously had only limited rational rather than perceptual knowledge about from books, films and TV programmes. So it was

inevitable that my perceptions of cultural phenomena in the English class may in one way or another be biased due to the possible influence of my own deep-rooted culture. When interviewing the teachers, for example, I felt a lack of confidence because I spoke English, the interviewees' mother tongue, in a context where I didn't know too much and with people who were almost complete strangers.

On the other hand, however, since I have been in this country for quite a few years, having much experience in attending lectures, meeting friends, visiting different places and dealing with daily life matters have enabled me to get to know the people and their culture to some extent. When it comes to schooling, I am not that much of an outsider since my 11 year old daughter in Year 6 started school in Bristol from Year 2 and she brings home everything English, language, story, manner, attitude, worldview, friends and things that happen in and outside class, all sorts she picks up at school. Therefore, one could say that my daughter had already brought a school home, which offered a foothold in the English field and helped prepare me for the fieldwork ahead. This then was a process of making the strange familiar.

In the case of the other part of the fieldwork, I was as an insider and familiar with the situation back in China, where I went to school and college, and worked as school teacher trainer for more than 10 years, which means that I have experience of being a pupil and experience of working within the field of education and I have some knowledge of children at school, teachers in class and the training of teachers. When interviewing the teachers, I felt more confident and relaxed because I spoke my own language and we shared the same codes of language, and more importantly, I knew the school context and was clear about the teachers were doing. So my perceptions of

the Chinese cultural values may be more informed in spite of some possible influence of the English culture because of my returning from England.

For an insider it is easy to run the risk of taking things for granted and to lose the opportunity to view things from alternative perspectives. The nature of this study provides the chance to view two distant cultural systems and thus helps to shed new light on familiar phenomena. There was also a further 'distancing' for me from the current Chinese context. During my absence from the Chinese cultural context the rapid development of the economy and enormous improvement in people's living standard has seen a great change in people's values. My own perceptions of schooling may still remain at the level of years ago, which then creates a cultural gap between the present and the past. Both these factors (the comparative element and my own absence from China) may mean that what I expected to be familiar was in fact strange.

In short, a cross-cultural comparative study may not be immune from cultural bias although it can be reduced to a certain level. In the case of this research, my own background of Chinese culture may have affected my interpretation and judgement of the English cultural values from the lessons although I do know about the English culture at a certain level, while my judgement of the Chinese cultural values, on the other hand, may not be as correct and objective as expected due to the influence of the English culture over the years. Achieving validity is difficult. It is hoped that by being as explicit as possible about the circumstances of the research this will help to establish validity and reliability.

3.4.2 The teachers' attitudes towards the observer

The apparent attitudes of those being observed towards myself as a researcher and observer are also important. Schools both in England and China where access was gained through official channels were found to be helpful, supportive and considerate. The teachers in this study showed their good will and shared my concerns. Mrs VB (E-School 1) in England told me, 'If you would like to talk to other teachers and visit other classrooms, please do let me know. We'll do as much as we can.' It may be that officially accessed schools may sometimes overact in some way, becoming too considerate leading to some misinterpretation or misjudgement in your observations. At the same time, schools contacted through private channels in England were also as helpful, e.g. Mrs TB (E-School 3) in this research. However, Mr HS (E-School 4), one of the two privately accessed schools, the only one of the total eight schools in this research, made the data collection more difficult by rejecting any recording throughout the nine-session period apart from the interview. This may be quite common among researchers, just like quantitative researchers sending out 100 copies of questionnaire and getting few copies back.

During the four-week fieldwork period in China I was warmly welcomed by the very friendly and co-operative Chinese Class Teachers and pupils. Teachers in China showed the same concern. 'We'll do whatever is needed for the research and the lessons can be changed and rearranged any time according to your schedule,' declared Mrs LJ (C-School 3). It seemed to me then that these teachers were very helpful. There are some reasons for this: a) I was officially recommended by the Education Commission of the capital city Urumqi; b) I came back from abroad as a PhD student (locally rarely seen); and c) To show a warm welcome and much respect for a lesson

observer, in general, is characteristic of the teachers and pupils. (Normally people who observe a lesson are those from above, a teaching group leader, headteacher or even someone from the local government in charge of education, or a group of internal or external colleagues who come to learn from the teacher observed.)

All four teachers were very much appreciated for their sincere help and co-operation. They declared they would do any thing possible for the need of the research. Take the class meeting lesson for example. Since it was drawing near the end of the term when the final examinations were going to take place, the scheduled weekly class meeting, which I was sure was something that could not afford to be missed out of the observation, had temporarily ceased along with all other normal daily academic events and all sorts of extracurricular activities. Normally, during the over-all review period, one month before the final examinations, everything has to give way to the review of each of the subjects they have learned over the whole term – review under the supervision of the subject teachers. Upon my request, a class meeting was arranged, which thankfully turned out to be extremely useful for the research.

The example of shifting the class meeting as described above illustrates teachers' cooperativeness. This may have been due in part to the official nature of the initial approach. [Here I do not exclude the possibility that it may have been that these teachers were just so friendly.]

3.4.3 The children's behaviour towards the observer

There were varying responses to me in the classrooms from the children. When in the classroom, I came to realise a difference in pupils' behaviour towards the observer between the two English urban schools (Schools 1 and 2) and the two rural ones

(Schools 3 and 4). During the first few visits to the two rural schools, when it was break time, the boys and girls would come around me asking me to teach them how to say 'Hello' and 'Goodbye' in Chinese and even greeting me in Chinese, 'Hello', afterwards, showing me how to make a paper rocket and how to play Yo-yo. In class, some children would turn to me curiously giving me a friendly smile. Mrs DN (E-School 2) had told me in the interview, 'These children have never seen any overseas people'. She was right. Later on, I was asked to take an hour to answer all sorts of questions from the children concerning China, especially children's school life in China. I had novelty value as something exotic.

While in the other two English schools, two urban schools in Bristol, even during my first visit to the schools, none of the children showed any interest or even any curiosity. My sitting at the back of the room is unlikely to have been the reason and possibly knowing who I was (my daughter was in Year 5, in the opposite room) also was not likely to lead to such indifference. It was again from what Mrs TB (E-School 3) said that I understood that many people had previously observed the class and these children were already used to this. Besides, Bristol is a multinational city with overseas people just everywhere. Therefore it was not surprising that the children in the two English urban schools were not interested in knowing anything about school children in China.

Children in all the four schools in China, however, the two rural schools and the two urban ones, were all interested in knowing about England and school children of their age in England. Class observers are not strange to children in China and they are even used to them because classroom observation is very common, but to all of them an observer who had spent time abroad was the first time ever. They requested me to

teach them English (English is taught from Year 7 in China, but will have been taught to Year 3 children since September 2001 according to a recent regulation), and most impressively came swarming for my signature. As the classrooms were all crowded, it was always inevitable that I would have to sit at the back of the classroom with children right next to me, or even just side by side. I started with making notes in English, but later I had to write in Chinese because the children close to me lost their concentration in the lesson and focused on my notes in English.

3.5 Data collection and analysis process

In this section, the process of data collection in the two countries in this research and the process of data analysis will be discussed in detail, that is, from the design of the research to the findings from the data.

3.5.1 Setting up the research

In China, the following day of my arrival in Urumqi, accompanied by Mr Chen, Director of the Teaching and Research Centre, his secretary and my friend Mr Fang, I paid my first visit to each of the four schools and met both the four headteachers and the four class teachers. A car and its driver were sent by the Education Commission of the province for the purpose, taking us to the four schools. (Cars are normally public properties in China and driving is an occupation. It is not until recent years that more and more people own their private cars.) I gave, as I did before, a brief introduction to the research and assured them that it was for the purpose of my PhD and no real names of the schools and the teachers would be used in my thesis. (I explained this to all the four schools in England but only to one school in China.) This was followed by

a meal at a hotel and all the four schools invited were all aware that Mr Chen, one of their local educational authorities, was personally involved in this research project.

The reason that I did not explain to the other three schools that the data was only for the purpose of my PhD research and no real names would be used in the thesis was because I couldn't, or it was not advised to, put it that way, as the director pointed out as soon as we had finished with the first school: 'You can say the data is only for the use of this project but do not let them know it is for your personal purpose of a PhD. Besides, getting involved in this research is an honour and they feel more than happy to do something for this international project and what is more, it is a mission of the Education Commission, their immediate superior.' Here then there were important cultural considerations to be taken into account.

The schedule was planned to cover a period of four weeks. Four key points were taken into account:

- each school should share as reasonably as possible an average amount of sessions every week;
- all the nine sessions at each school should be extended to all the four weeks;
- all nine sessions should cover as many different morning and afternoon lessons as possible from Monday to Friday each week; and
- as many cultural or social events as possible should be attended.

Although the teachers in China, especially the two rural school teachers, were extremely co-operative and helpful, there were several problems:

- one session in China was just a 40-minute lesson of one subject;
- one teacher taught only one subject and a class teacher was normally the teacher who taught the subject of the Chinese Language;
- there were only five 40 minute lessons per week for the Chinese Language in each school and all schools took the subject of the Chinese Language as one of the two main subjects - the other one was Maths – and it was always in the first or the second lesson in the morning. So all the four class teachers taught the Chinese Language and all taught the lessons at the same time in the morning. That was where the big conflict lay; and
- you could not either add one or two more lessons to the existing five lessons because the class time table was full, or extend the duration of the observation because it was then drawing near the end of the winter term.

In the end, the two rural teachers had to move most of their lessons to the third or the fourth lessons in the morning or even to the first or second lesson in the afternoon in order that I could arrange the time to observe in their classes. For this, although impressed and thankful, I felt uneasy and always tried not to affect their normal sequence of work, leaving any further inconvenience for myself to cope with.

Besides, unfortunately, the weather conditions there were also not helpful and made my work even harder. It was the freezing cold winter season in China. Streets were all covered with ice and snow. Taxis were the only means of possible transport. Many a time, I had to rush from one school to another within 15 minutes. This part of the fieldwork became a very expensive one resulting from taking taxi rushing between the four schools every day for four weeks.

In general, setting the time schedule in England was less problematic, because:

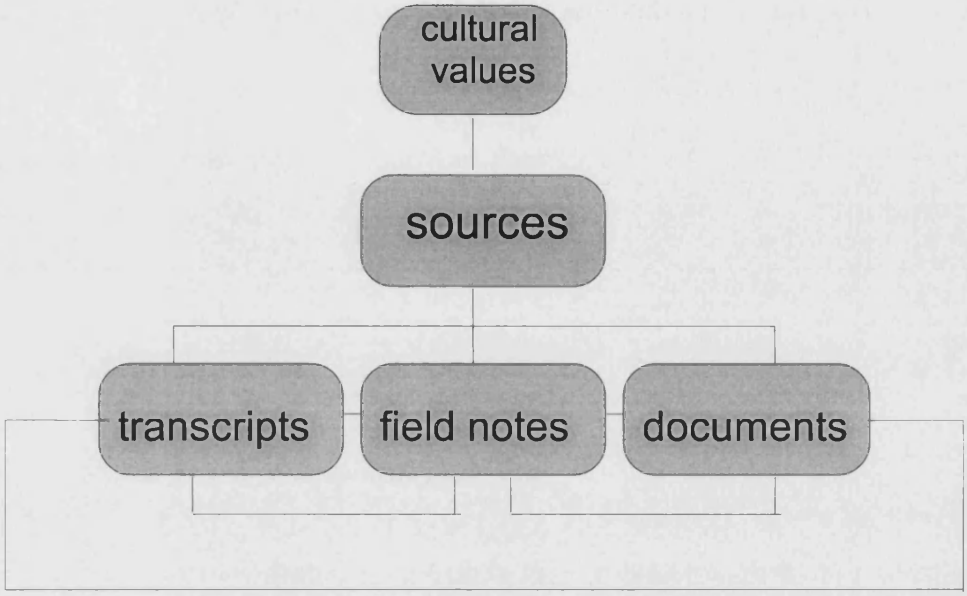
- one session at one school would take up either a whole morning or a whole afternoon and I did not have to rush during the middle of the morning or afternoon from one school to another;
- I could make it easily by driving from one school to another even if I had to travel from the 30-mile-away School 2 after a morning session at 12.00 to School 3 in Bristol for the afternoon session at 1.15; and
- all the teachers were very thoughtful and supportive and every session was organised for both the teacher's and my convenience.

Here in both countries, I was seen as 'a friendly face' because of personal connections. The more official route in China might have led to teachers initially feeling more on show. However as the observations lasted several weeks, it is unlikely that this would have had a lasting interference effect.

3.5.2 The data analysis process

In the light of using a comparative method, and given the kind of data analysis involved, the main characteristic of the process of analysis appeared to be hermeneutic phenomenology. Both a comparative methodology and hermeneutic phenomenological method are concerned with generating and plausibly suggesting many categories, properties and hypotheses about the problem investigated (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Moreover, a hermeneutic phenomenological approach stresses the importance of the creation of evocative description. Geertz's (1975) term 'thick description' is perhaps the most suitable analogue.

Figure 3.3: Sources of Data for analysis



The analysis of data did not occur as a separate phase at the end of this study. Based on the principle of comparison, the process of data analysis of this study, as in much qualitative research, went through the three concurrent flows of activities, i.e. data display, data reduction and thematic interpretation (Miles and Huberman, 1984). In order to be as explicit as possible, the procedures of data analysis are described as follows:

- Procedure I

The first formal procedure of analysis is display of data, transcribing tape recorded in-depth and semi-structured interviews, observed lessons and activities, field notes and documentary sources (see Figure 3.3), and also translating all the transcripts of Chinese data into English (see Appendix 7.3 for a letter certifying the reliability of a translated sample text of a transcribed Chinese lesson).

Once the corpus had been placed in order, the transcripts were then combed using the method suggested by van Manen (1990). This involved isolating statements and events that corresponded to the definition of culture used in the conceptual framework (see Chapter II). Often these tended to be statements or incidents, which gave richness and clarity to the cultural values as well as being devices for data reduction. This first procedure also helped to connect the data to the principles, which were being incorporated into the analysis on a secondary level. Combined with Strauss and Corbin's (1990) ideas on refining categories, categorisation of the data of this research was thus carried out at this stage. Each of those discrete incidents or events or ideas identified from the data was broken down and conceptualised, and was given a name that stands for a phenomenon. Then I began to examine and ask questions about those phenomena labelled as concepts or names. Comparing incident with incident, I grouped those similar phenomena and classified them under a concept of a higher order, thus, the categories.

- Procedure II

For the analysis of the full data sets two approaches were used: the first was the holistic approach which involved attending to the data as a whole while highlighting particular phrases, concepts, ideas and events which I felt captured fundamental meanings. The second involved a selective approach in which the transcripts and the tapes were listened to simultaneously to expose the essential statements and events that revealed crucial phenomenon of the cultural transmission being described. Here the field notes and documentary corpus were used to crosscheck particular instances and to add salience to the statements.

In grounded theory, theoretical sensitivity indicates an awareness of the subtleties of meaning embedded in the data, and its capability to develop a theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1990:41). During the analysis stage of the study, a great deal of time was devoted to the reading of the literature so as to enhance theoretical sensitivity. It was also a deliberate attempt to maintain a distance and avoid 'going native' by identifying too closely with the subjects. In this research, it consisted of identifying themes of cultural values and strategies to convey these values.

- Procedure III

The third procedure of the analysis involved the writing of the first drafts of the descriptive case studies. This process inevitably raises the issue of written reconstruction. Clifford (1986:54), when referring to this problem, asked: how shall the social scientists write? He posed this question in order to stimulate social scientists into considering new and alternative ways of presenting their findings.

How we frame knowledge also determines its importance and as Vygotsky (1962:126) remarked 'thinking undergoes many changes as it turns to speech. It does not merely find expressions in speech; it finds its reality and form.' For Vygotsky, speech refers not only to talk and as Wertsch (1985) notes, his concept of speech refers to the sense we have of language, both written and oral. Finding an appropriate style and staying on the right track is central, particularly if the subject is different individuals and the nature of the research is to describe and explain aspects of their experience and practice. Bentley (1946) perhaps best illustrates this process in his description of a writer as someone sitting on top of a brick wall describing to someone below, the action on the other side.

As Krieger (1984) and others have suggested, a powerful model for writing up case studies can be found in what has become known as the *new journalism*. Although the precise origin of the phrase is unknown, most agree with its chief advocator and exemplar, Tom Wolfe (1973), that the *new journalistic* writing began appearing in the mid-1960s, during a period of information overload. Hellman (1981:8) claims that the *new journalism* is a revolt against homogenised forms of experience, against monolithic versions of the truth. Wolfe (1973:9) explains he begins to discover a new 'artistic excitement in journalism' and the possibility that journalism that would read like a novel, more specifically the novels of social realism.' Hollowell (1977:23) argues that 'the *new journalism* strives to reveal the story hidden beneath the surface of facts'.

Since there would appear to be similarities, in terms of both belief and method between the *new journalism* and qualitative research, the writing strategies and techniques employed by the *new journalists* appear to offer an appropriate model for the writing of case reports. However, as stated above, being a novice in this field, whether or not being able to 'stay on the right track' till the finish of the journey seems a strong challenge to the present writer.

Wolfe has identified four writing devices central to the *new journalism*, they are:

* Episodic construction
* Characterisation through the judicious use of dialogue
* The use of the third person perspective
* A detailed telling of events staying close to the participant's life, status and experiences.

(Wolfe, 1973:32)

A combination of all four devices was used at various times during the writing of the case studies. The detailed telling of events as in the fourth device above was used constantly and the development of the concept of cultural values allowed the data to take on a episodic feel. To avoid the pitfall of over-interpretation during the writing of the various drafts, the author deliberately kept a distance, allowing considerable direct quotes and descriptions of events to speak for themselves.

- Procedure IV

Although it has been argued that this cross-case approach is inappropriate for some forms of qualitative research (Lincoln and Guba, 1985), Glaser and Strauss (1967), Atkinson and Delamont (1986) and van Manen (1984) maintain that cross-case generalisation through thematic analysis deepens both understanding and explanation. It is here that all qualitative researchers have to negotiate the tension between reconciling the need for uniqueness with the demand that their findings be in some way generalisable. In terms of this investigation it was decided that a 'multi-exemplar approach' (Denzin, 1991) were to be used. The themes identified form the basis for discussions.

3.5.3 Why triangulation?

No matter what the original derivation of the concept of triangulation – a concept borrowed from geometry (Yin, 1993:69), from land surveying (Bryman, 1988:131) or from navigation (Silverman, 1997:156) – it is a concept in relation to a combination of methods of investigation or of perspectives. It is generally accepted that when a concept has been operationally defined, in which a measure of it has been proposed, the ensuing measurement device should be both reliable and valid (Bryman &

Cramer, 1997:66). In dealing with social science evidence, if three (or more) sources all coincide, then the fact can be considered to have established (Yin, 1993:69). While reliability refers to the degree of consistency with which instances are assigned to the same category by different observers or by the same observer on different occasions (Hammersley, 1992:67), validity usually means to measure what is supposed to be measured, is actually measured and this is normally the main target of triangulation.

Issues of validity and reliability haunt the qualitative researcher like a spectre (Wolcott, 1994:369). To deal with their presence, triangulation gradually developed as a required element in qualitative research. As mentioned above, the concept of triangulation is related to the quantitative tradition. The core idea is to 'cross-check', i.e. to check different findings against each other (Bryman and Burgess, 1994). The fundamental belief is that a variety of approaches or perspectives offers the best chance of achieving validity (Jary and Jary, 1991).

Alexander (2000) addresses the problem of typicality and discusses the questions such as 'With so many thousands, or millions, of versions of teaching on offer, which of them can be said to be representative of national classroom practice? Can any of them? And does typicality matter?'

Nevertheless, there are still many ways to triangulate. Four different but related dimensions in triangulation can be recognised, i.e. data, investigator, theory and method (Bryman and Burgess, 1994 and McKernan, 1991). Each strategy has its respective strengths and limitations. Among them the dimension of method is the most widely recognised, and it generally refers to the use of more than one method of data collection within a single study.

Incongruities between different data sets is not unusual even in quantitative research. In qualitative research any finding or conclusion is likely to be more convincing and sound if it is based on several sources of data while in the meantime following a corroborative mode. Patton (1980:247) discusses four types of triangulation in case study type investigations, which is the triangulation,

- of data sources;
- of perspectives on the same data sets (multiple theories) [not used in the case of this present research though];
- of methods (multiple methods);
- among different researchers (investigator triangulation).

The present discussion pertains only to two of these four types. With these forms many potential problems can be addressed. First because the use of multiple sources of evidence allows multiple insights into the same phenomenon, not surprisingly case studies using such an approach have often been rated more highly in terms of their overall quality than those relying on single sources of data (Yin, Bateman and Moore, 1983). Second, the widely recognised strategy of multi-method has also been applied in this study. Semi-structured interviews, participant observation as well as documentary analysis have been employed. The analysis was likewise validated through the subjects' verification of the interpretation of the data collected by the means of examining the drafts or conducting informal interviews.

It is widely accepted that theories are involved at even the simplest descriptive level (Beattie, 1981), and facts do not stand alone but are theoretically informed (Allan and Skinner, 1991; Wolcott, 1994). Writers on hermeneutics would also argue that all understanding is based on some level of preconception. No matter how implicit or hidden, theory and concept are always unavoidable in every study. However, such

preconceptions or prejudices need to be open to challenge within what Bernstein (1975) calls the 'hermeneutic circle'. The first and most important step is to make these implicit or unconscious assumptions explicit and conscious from the outset. This issue is further explored below.

Despite the usefulness of triangulation, all research must respond to the canons that stand as criteria against which the soundness of a research project must be judged. Lincoln and Guba (1985) have phrased these canons as questions: first, how credible are the particular findings of the study and by what criteria should they be judged? Second, how generalisable and applicable are the findings? And third, how sure can we be that the findings are reflective of the subjects' meaning rather than a creation of the researcher's prejudices?

Lincoln and Guba (1985) go on to propose four alternative constructs that perhaps more accurately reflect the assumptions of the qualitative paradigm. These will be discussed briefly and reference will be made to the attempts by the researcher to ensure these constructs were addressed.

Credibility: this relates to the way in which the investigation was conducted so that the subject was accurately identified, described and represented. Here the transcripts of lessons and interviews and drafts of analysis have been returned to the participants to gain the teachers' views and ensure that the interpretation offered stayed as close to the original as possible. One other factor worth mentioning is that I attended an international learning conference in Beijing in July and was provided an opportunity to give a group presentation of this research, which aroused much interest among the attendees and they raised many interesting questions. This opportunity remedied the

lack of Chinese academic audience and their voices in the whole process of the research though I have discussed this study on several occasions in England such as at seminars or presentations.

Transferability: this refers to the broader applicability of the findings in terms of other (similar) contexts. This is always problematic for the qualitative researcher. However, given that a conceptual framework framed the study, others who wish to carry out new investigations or make policies from the findings, can see how the research ties into a body of literature and theory. Additionally, the findings from such studies often have a powerful influence on practice through what van Manen (1990) calls the 'phenomenological exchange' whereby researchers engage in a mutual recognition of similar instances.

Dependability: here the researcher has to account for changes in course of the investigation. Since this study followed Miles and Huberman's (1984) notion that qualitative research is both an interactive and iterative process, changes were inevitable. It should be noted that at each stage of the research new ideas, further lines of questioning and analysis emerged.

Confirmability: finally Lincoln and Guba (1985) ask whether the findings of the study could be confirmed by another. This was confirmed in part by the teachers themselves and by constant discussions with my supervisor and other academics.

To clarify the issue of validity the researcher must ask himself/herself a number of key questions: What are the warrants for my claims? Can other investigators make a

reasonable judgement of their accuracy? And, on that basis, can they decide whether the findings are trustworthy enough to be relied upon for their own work?

The central theoretical aim therefore is to describe, analyse and interpret a pattern of relationships within data generated from a clear conceptual framework. That is, the analysis shifts to a more abstract level as theory and analysis engage in a mutual dialectic, and with sufficient information we can make decisions as to whether the research is sufficiently trustworthy for action.

3.5 Summary

Referring back to the questions guiding this section of the thesis, first of all, this chapter has asserted the significance of case studies as 'acts of mind' that have intrinsic value. Second, the methodological route taken and the analysis and interpretation techniques used, bring with them significant riches of thickness, texture and specificity to the cases (Geertz, 1975). These techniques are balanced against the problems of over-interpretation by the concepts of triangulation and trustworthiness. The case-study method of studying of a small scale of cases is capable of yielding insights and understandings, which offer the possibility of knowledge beyond the singular. Using a metaphor to conclude in terms of the methodology of this research, it was ethnographic approach that led the researcher into the field (to investigate), case study approach assisted him with intensive cultivation, comparative approach combined with hermeneutic phenomenology brought about rich fruits and finally the grounded theory approach helped explain the principles of farming.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

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4.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the analysis of the data concerning teachers as cultural reinforcers. In the process of the analysis and the thick description of incidents, a set of cultural values emerged, and also the methods and strategies employed in reinforcing the values became evident. The sources used were teacher interviews, classroom observations and official documents as well as field notes and photographs taken during the field research. The main tasks of this chapter are designed to reveal similarities and differences between teachers in England and China, explore relationships among the categories and draw a global picture of the reinforcing of cultural values in modern classroom practices including a consideration of ways of reinforcing values.

Central to what follows in this chapter are the four cultural value themes that were identified in each country. Not surprisingly, some of the themes are not new and may have been pointed out by other writers, but this research has made them distinctive by looking at them from a different point of view and particularly exploring how cultural values are being transmitted to pupils in the teachers' classroom practice; other themes may be common in the two countries, but this research distinguishes between them by looking into a variety of cultural incidents or events in each country and bringing out diverse aspects or features of the common cultural themes. Hence, the two sets of four themes: *individualism, a sense of responsibility, social awareness and effort* in England; *collectivism, a sense of responsibility, social awareness and achievement* in China.

4.1 The English Context

The English schools in this study, two rural schools (Schools 1 and 2) and two urban schools (Schools 3 and 4) are four church schools, of which three are Church of England schools and one Roman Catholic. Each of the schools has its own school curriculum organised on the basis of the requirements of the National Curriculum. The four Year 6 class teachers (Mrs VB, E-School 1; Mrs DN, E-School 2; Mrs TB, E-School 3; and Mr HS, E-School 4) teach all the subjects following the guidance of their school curricula.

During the fieldwork period, those teachers appeared to be very open, frank and spoke without reservation about their viewpoints and about what they did and how they did it in relation to reinforcing cultural values. Classroom observations proved to be a very interesting and rewarding experience. Ethnographic researchers usually 'engage in an extended period of observation' (Silverman, 1993:31). I visited each teacher for nine morning or afternoon sessions over a four week span. So although this could have been longer, nevertheless it would be very difficult for the teachers to put on a show for this length of time. Thus I felt relaxed in the business of gathering the data and it was also a comfort to me that my presence did not appear to affect their normal daily practice. All the teachers I observed had many years' experience in primary education, and appeared confident in their teaching and well aware what their mission was as will become clear from the data analysis. 'We all know what is acceptable behaviour,' as Mrs DN (E-School 2) replied to my question whether the teachers ever talked among themselves about children's behaviour. They also seemed to have some knowledge about the children's abilities, personality, family and social backgrounds.

Since all the four teachers work as Year 6 class teachers to one national curriculum, one might expect some similarities in classroom behaviour among them, but might also anticipate wide variation between them due to personal differences, in terms of reinforcing cultural values. The value orientation of a person will hinge on his/her personal experience and world outlook, which will be inevitably influenced by the requirements of the social setting. In the case of the present study, the influential factors were:

- the requirements of the school where the teacher works and implements his or her cultural values
- the requirements of the National Curriculum, within which framework the schools set their own curricula

The National Curriculum identifies the required core cultural values as integrity, autonomy, self-esteem, enterprise, care, respect, equality, (right and wrong) principles, responsibilities and socialisation. Although individual schools may vary in their own curriculum, it is suggested in the National Curriculum documentation that the school education aims to bring about future citizens who are developed as I summarise below:

- personally in qualities and virtues of truth, honesty, justice, self-reliance, self-confidence, self-esteem, a sense of duty, hard work and effort.
- interpersonally in understanding and appreciation of pupils' own and different beliefs and cultures, awareness of equality between all people, respect for other people and for themselves, challenging discrimination and stereotyping, helping each other, love and care for other people, and satisfying relationships.
- socially in ability to relate to others and work for the common good, respect for the environments and the community, in understanding principles for distinguishing between right and wrong, and their right and responsibilities for themselves, for other people, for the community and for the society, and in capability of contributing to the development of a just society.

All four schools claim that they have set their curriculum in conformity with the National Curriculum and worked out the specific *Values and Aims of the School* [a

section in their school prospectus] for practice. School 1 for example has three items listed, which are to:

- Provide an equal opportunity for each child to achieve his or her full potential in learning;
- Create a happy and caring environment in which each child can work and enjoy learning; and
- Encourage all children to learn the merits and importance of courtesy, good manners and consideration for others and to develop self-confidence, respect and self- discipline.

Viewing the above three points, it is obvious that the cultural values are comprehensively described and explicitly referred to in such key words as: equal opportunity for each child (equality), achieve full potential (achievement, effort, self-fulfilment), a happy and caring environment (happiness, love, care, help, trust), enjoy learning (positive attitude), learn the merits (right and wrong) of courtesy, politeness, awareness of others and self, and discipline.

School 2 has a broad based curriculum consisting of 12 items in the school's aims including some academic demands and some cultural values. These are to:

- allow each child to experience success at his or her level;
- provide opportunities for children to reach their full potential;
- help pupils to develop lively, enquiring minds and high self-esteem so that problems are seen as a challenge to be solved rather than as a signal to give up;
- foster a sense of wonder and responsibility for the natural world;
- instil a respect for religious, moral and spiritual values both in ourselves and in others; and
- encourage a range of social skills that allow a child to take up his or her place in society.

(see Appendix 5.4 for the full set of aims)

Stressed cultural values contained in these aims include: experiencing success (achievement, effort, self-confidence), opportunities for children to reach their full

potential (equal opportunities, effort), encouraging minds and high self-esteem (reasoning, manners, self-esteem), solving problems as a challenge rather than a signal to give up (resourcefulness, perseverance), responsibility, respect for selves and others, and social skills. School 2 and School 1 share most values in common, and the only difference is that School 1 stresses also the child's happiness – enjoying learning while School 2 stresses high self-esteem, and neither school includes self-reliance.

It should not be surprising if all the four schools have similar cultural values laid down in their school curricula, considering the power of the National Curriculum (Alexander, 2000). When the curricula of the next two schools are examined, they prove to be similar to the first two schools, in line with the National Curriculum. School 3, as the one Roman Catholic school among the four, has slightly more emphasis on religious purposes, and they formulate the school aims as follows:

- to make prayer, worship and liturgy real educational experiences and to contribute successfully to the development of faith of each individual
- to create dynamic relationships involving home, parish and school and in this way to prepare our children for entry into the wider community
- to ensure that the curriculum provides a Catholic Christian setting in which our children can grow in understanding and in the acquisition of skills, attitudes and values
- to show concern for all the teaching staff together with the non-teaching staff, parents and children

From the point of view of values, religious experience is the one that is different from other schools. The values are seen as faith, relationships, preparing children for entry into the wider community (social skills, self-confidence, self-esteem, responsibility, relationships, manners), growing in understanding (relationships, reasoning), attitudes, values, concern (care, love, respect) for others. So School 3 does not concentrate on quite the same range of values as the others but emphasises more the

importance of religious experience such as worship and faith (although some of the values are similar).

Finally, School 4 presents the school values and aims as follows:

- to create a happy, secure, well-ordered and caring environment in which effective teaching and learning can take place
- to develop self-confidence, self-esteem and independence in our children
- to encourage the social growth and development of our children
- to expect the very highest standards of effort and work
- to expect the very highest standards of courtesy to and from all members of our community
- to encourage a spirit of inquiry and respect for learning
- to provide equality of opportunity for all, regardless of sex, race or disability
- to develop an awareness of, and respect for, differences amongst people, races and religions

It appears that School 4 has the most Values and Aims items drawn up and most differently, they have featured more explicit and straightforward cultural values as those required in the National Curriculum: a happy, secure, well-ordered and caring environment, which is common among the four schools (happiness, safety, discipline, care, love), effective teaching and learning (achievement), self-confidence, self-esteem, independence, social development, effort and work, courtesy, a spirit of inquiry (similar to School 2), respect, equality (like School 1).

Thus, referring back to all the above illustrated values from the four schools, these schools have things in common, sharing the main cultural aims – responsibilities, respect for others, individual achievement, self-esteem, social skills, equality, love and care, effort, courtesy, manners, and discipline – which are in tune with the National Curriculum, but also there are some very important differences such as the religious emphasis in School 3 and more academic requirements and awareness of cultural diversity in School 4.

In the following sections, a systematic analysis is carried out to examine in detail through the following six layers of data the four main themes identified at the stage of data analysis Procedure One (see Chapter III). The four themes that were identified were:

- individualism
- a sense of responsibility
- social awareness
- effort

The six layers of the data are:

- the National Curriculum
- the school prospectus (references here can be found in Appendices 5.3 – 5.6)
- what the teacher said to me in the interview
- what the teacher said to the children in class
- what the teacher asked the children to do
- how the teacher reacted to the class

In other words, when each of the themes is tackled through the interplay between the official curricula and investigation, we are looking at what core cultural values are required of the schools in the National Curriculum, what cultural values are required of the teachers in the school curriculum, (which in turn is based on the National Curriculum), what cultural values are stated by the teacher in the interview, what values are embedded in the teacher's speech and in any assigned activity in the class, and what values are delivered in the teacher's reaction to the pupils' classroom behaviour. Put simply, this part of the thesis intends to explore the cultural values in the teacher's meaning and those in the teacher's action in specific contexts.

4.1.1 Individualism

- The National Curriculum

The National Curriculum lays emphasis upon the 'spiritual, moral, social, cultural, physical and mental development of the *individual*' (1999:10), 'pupils' confidence in their capacity to learn and work *independently* (and collaboratively)' (1999:11), and 'special arrangements available to support *individual* pupils so as to participate effectively in the curriculum and assessment activities' (1999:33), and 'make *independent* decisions' (1999:11). In addition, *autonomy* is another term stressed in the National Curriculum. Therefore it seems evident that the value of individualism is considered as significant in primary education at Key Stage 2.

- The school prospectuses

The four schools have set their own curriculum within the framework of the National Curriculum, and the development of self-reliance on the one hand and self-confidence/self-esteem on the other in each individual pupil, seem to be two of the dominant themes that emerge from the schools' aims but with interesting differences. Schools 1 and 2 aim to allow each child to 'achieve his or her full potential in learning' (School 1, p4) or to 'experience success at his or her level' (School 2, p5), and 'to treat all children as individuals with needs to be met' (School 4, p3). School 3 claims that it is 'a small caring school, where pupils are known and valued as individuals' (School 3, p3) and in the meantime, states the 'development of faith of each individual' as top a priority on the list of aims (p3).

- The teachers in interview

It is understood that under the guidance of the school curriculum the teachers design their everyday classroom activities, in which the cultural values get reinforced. Mrs DN (E-School 2) claims in her interview that she knows each of the children well and Mr HS (E-School 4) describes his class as 'A class of wide range of ability. Some are very able. Some are weak. They have individual needs.' This indicates that these teachers are well aware that the children have different needs to be met at various levels. In School 1, children from poor backgrounds are given access to computers during the holiday and they also have a good library, from where 'The children are allowed to take books to do their research for independent work,' said Mrs VB (E-School 1). Indeed, independent research work on a small project is something that the children will learn to do.

- The teachers in class

Events that happened in the class also provided convincing evidence, perhaps even more meaningful than ideas that the teachers had expressed verbally. It was found that three of the four teachers, for example, assigned the pupils a task of a small independent research project. Mrs VB (E-School 1) assigned the children a project involving geographic research into river pollution. Mrs DN (E-School 2), one project comparing 1930s with 1990s, and Mrs TB (E-School 3), a report on family experience during World War II, all aiming to foster the children's ability to conduct an activity on their own.

The small project concerning river pollution actually started a week before my own fieldwork at the school. Each pupil had a copy of the map of the local area and had to study it carefully in order to find factories, companies and power stations along the ... River. Then they sent letters to those companies requiring information about how they utilised the river. Five of the children had already received a reply and were told to explain to me and show me their original letters to the companies and also replies from the companies. Now they were studying the replies and others were proceeding with their letters, under Mrs VB's supervision. I was permitted to make a copy of one of the five children's letters, which reads:

1/12/1998

Dear Sir/Madam,
In school we are studying rivers and how people use them. I am writing from... C of E Primary School. We have been set a task to write a letter to an industry which could pollute the ...River (the river that is close to us), and runs through our village. I am aware that the power station is sending a bit of pollution into our river and I am writing to ask you how you are preventing some pollution from coming into our river. Is the power station being useful to the community, if so, how? Do you do any river studies?
I appreciate your co-operation and look forward, with interest, to your reply.

From N S
a student of ...School

The project, an example of individual work, set in place by Mrs VB was in fact an event through which the teacher intended to develop children's awareness of being independent, being important and being treated seriously as an independent individual and to give children the chance to play their role in a world wide issue, which is taken seriously. All letters had to be drafted by the children themselves and corrected by the teacher and then copied onto the official letter paper. In the middle of the lesson, Mrs VB even encouraged a boy, SM, to directly phone a gentleman who worked for the estate about a letter to be sent. She told the boy to say ' 'Excuse me, Mr M, are you the gentleman who worked for B Estate? I'm sending you a letter.' ST, can you do

that for me please? And enjoy your phoning and speak slowly and clearly. And be polite. Right.' Five minutes later, with the confirmation of the Mr M, the boy returned from the school office telephone and was rewarded with a 'Well done!' praise from Mrs VB. It is interesting to note that this topic relates to the 'responsibility for the natural world' stated in the aims of another school (School 2).

Apparently this small project was smoothly carried out under the teacher's supervision and it involved the teacher giving information on how to write a letter and an envelope and their forms and layouts, and how to talk to people on the phone. Although the teacher made clear what the aim of the small project was, there was something beyond that. That is in fact a process of autonomy training, a hands-on independent practice, and an experience, which was beneficial to the children's growth and personal development.

The project run by Mrs DN (E-School 2), was a project comparing something in the 1930s with something in the 1990s to see how things have changed over the years to the present day. Mrs DN had different requirements for each individual at the starting point. This gave the children an opportunity to work at their own pace, valuing the individual, in a different way from the above project, which valued self-reliance more. Therefore, both Mrs VB's and Mrs DN's projects valued the individual, in the sense of targeting individual development, but focused on different aspects of individuality.

Much more like Mrs VB's, but also similar to Mrs DN's project activities, a project organised by Mrs TB (E-School 3) was of great significance in conducting lots of hands-on work individually and independently because the real achievement for the children may just be the process of dealing with these challenging questions (see

below), through which the ability to think, to ask questions, to communicate with people and of course to write are to be obtained.

Mrs TB required the children to write an account of World War II, for which each child would have to collect items such as photos, uniforms or even bullets from family members or relatives who had experienced the war and write about them, coupled with the information conveyed through the teacher's war stories, information from the sheets and main aspects to be covered with key words provided on the board, such as dates, plan, operation, sealion, RAF, dog-fights, importance, etc. The details of the weekend homework was:

- Find out about your local war memorial. What is it?
- Find out if any of your family was in the Army, Navy, Air Force or involved in the war in some way.
- How did it affect your family?

Compared with the above two projects, this one seemed to aim for some pedagogical goal of knowing about history. However, similarly it required lots of individual work and first of all investigation, which may help children develop personal qualities of being independent individuals. Another similarity is that all projects involved social features, Mrs VB's project required children to write to local companies, Mrs DN's demanded data collection at the library, though somewhat less direct, and Mrs TB's was extended to a certain social scope of the children's family members. But more like Mrs VB, Mrs TB intended to foster the value of self-reliance.

The idea of different task expectations was also reflected in the children's class work. In doing a spelling exercise, four groups of pupils, although they were not grouped by their ability, were given four different sheets with different task demands. Mrs DN (E-

School 2) was reading three times to the class a text, which started with 'Scotland was successful in the European Cup on Sunday night. It was the skilful...' The children were supposed to fill in the blanks left in the text. The least able pupils were supposed to fill in the text with the fewest blanks and with the easiest words and the most able pupils filled in the text with the most blanks and with the most difficult words in addition to those easiest words. In this way when individual needs were met, each pupil was able to achieve his/her goal and enjoy learning.

In a mathematics lesson, Mr HS (E-School 4), similarly to Mrs DN, gave the children different tasks at different levels so that individual needs were to be met because while some of the children were working on Book 6+, one boy was still working at a level as low as Year 4, according to Mr HS. He walked around to help whilst children were working on their own. 'We're going to do Averages,' said Mr HS to the class later, 'If you are sharp on that, you'll have a special sheet to work. If you are not, you'll work together with me.' This strategy of meeting individual needs is really a matter of shooting the right arrow at the right target and ensures that each individual's learning capability develops to the limit. This, like the project of comparing the 1930s and the 1990s, was aimed at the fostering of self-valuing by doing the work at one's own pace.

Here the word *strategy* is used because it seems that attention to children's individual development is a systematic process rather than an occasional happening. Another incident may well prove this, but this time it was autonomy that was valued by Mr HS just like Mrs VB. It was when I first visited the Year 6 class, I saw a group of children working on a model tank. Mr HS told a boy to explain to me what they were doing during the previous art lesson. Now Mr HS was apparently not concerned about what

the children really did in the lesson, but he was providing the child with an opportunity to talk as a public representative to an adult, a foreigner, a complete stranger, in front of a group of his peers because to be a real independent individual, one has to be brave, strong, confident and sensible in the first place.

Taking into account the above discussed events concerning the four teachers, the cultural theme of individualism is embodied in what the teachers said and what the teachers did during the investigation, and it is particularly vividly reflected in the three small independent research projects and the two different tasks. Although the events were not, and could not be, identical, they all highlighted the theme *individualism* featuring self-reliance and self-valuing.

Here then the project activities in these four schools served both strands and thus individualism is referring to both self-reliance (Mrs VB and Mrs TB, and Mr HS) and self-valuing (Mrs DN and Mr HS). The difference between these two strands is that self-valuing stresses the importance of the individual self, indicating that everyone is unique, may have different needs and may be at different levels, but is equally important, and it is also important for everyone to realise his/her personal values through achieving different goals in his/her life. Self-reliance, on the other hand, emphasises exploring the potentiality of each individual. Both self-reliance and self-valuing may mean that a child does his/her work independently, but doing work independently and creatively to achieve as much as one can (self-reliance), and doing work independently and creatively to fulfil as much as one can (self-valuing).

These project activities appear to be mostly an implicit reinforcement of this cultural value, so none of the four teachers needed to state explicitly to the children nor did

they explain to me that they had to tell the children to 'work independently' or 'do your work all on your own'. In this case we could say that the implicit assigning of the project signalled a known message, which the children may be all used to and naturally picked up. In this sense, an implicitly delivered message could be interpreted as explicit since it might be taken by the children as explicit. It is also interesting to note that the teachers' focus of cultural values does not necessarily match up to stated school aims. Take Mrs VB for example. In the aims of School 1, it does not contain the element of self-reliance, however in her teaching, Mrs VB' project did seem to deliver this value.

4.1.2 A sense of responsibility

- The National Curriculum

In stating the second of the two aims for the school curriculum, the National Curriculum requires schools to 'promote pupils' spiritual, moral, social and cultural development and prepare all pupils for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of life' (1999:11), and 'in particular', as it goes on in the further explanation of the aim, 'develop principles for distinguishing between right and wrong.' In the meantime, 'the school curriculum should...equip them...to understand their responsibilities and rights, to contribute to the development of their sense of identity...and to help them to be responsible and caring citizens capable of contributing to the development of a just society' (1999:11).

A sense of responsibility from the perspective of the National Curriculum stands for more than the term literally refers to. This 'enduring value' is, in a broad sense, composed of personal, social and moral responsibilities, community involvement and

political literacy. The first is a personally, socially and morally overlapped component, in which moral principles are particularly stressed as important as indicated above. Thus moral responsibilities build up the foundations for the development of personal and social responsibilities. Children are asked to learn from the very beginning personally, socially and morally responsible behaviour both in and outside the school, both towards people in the position of authority and towards each other. Ultimately they are expected to be personally responsible and to be able to 'develop their integrity, to think creatively and critically, to make informed judgements and solve problems, to make a difference for the better, to recognise the importance of pursuing a healthy lifestyle and keeping themselves and others safe, and to secure the pupils' commitment to sustainable development of the environments at a personal, local, national and global level' (1999:11).

The second stressed component is learning to become helpfully involved in the life and concerns of the pupils' communities, which means being socially responsible. Children need to develop a sense of duty to the communities while they learn to be aware of their rights in the communities, and to 'develop a distinctive character and ethos rooted in their local communities' (p12). By emphasising the significance of citizenship education, though not compulsory in primary education, the National Curriculum illustrates that 'pupils need to be encouraged to take part in a wide range of activities and experiences across and beyond the curriculum, contributing fully to the life of their school and communities. In doing so they learn to recognise their own worth, work well with others and become increasingly responsible for their own learning. They reflect on their experiences and understand how they are developing personally and socially, tackling many of spiritual, moral, social, and cultural issues that are part of growing up' (p136). Explicitly, this is to 'develop knowledge,

understanding, skills and attitudes necessary for their self-fulfilment and development as active and responsible citizens' (p12).

The third component of the value is the political dimension. Children are encouraged to learn how to develop their responsible selves effectively in public life through the knowledge, skills and values they have learned and accumulated. *Society* is given much emphasis throughout the *values, aims and purposes* section in the National Curriculum (pp10-13). It is stated that 'education is also a route to...a healthy and just democracy' (p10), and pupils need to learn to respond positively and be able to contribute to the development of a just society (p11), i.e. a just democratic society. This is required to encompass realistic knowledge of and preparation for 'opportunities and challenges of the rapidly changing world', and conflict resolutions and decision making in relation to the main economic and social problems of the day. The children also need to 'find out about the main political and social institutions that affect their lives and about their responsibilities, rights and duties as individuals and members of communities' (p136). They also need to prepare for the world of work, understand issues such as taxation, allocation of resources, general elections, etc. Thus schools are directed to fostering children's active citizenship, bringing them to open discussions of controversial issues.

- <u>The school prospectuses</u>

The National Curriculum has designed the framework to encourage all schools to respond to national and local priorities and each school may have their specific understanding of responsibility with diversified requirements and expectations. All the four schools in this present study share some values in common, including

mentioning positive behaviour, equal opportunities for all, responsibility for one's own property and that of others, punctuality, etc. in their public documentation, but differences do exist in the school aims concerning the theme of responsibility.

Take School 2 for example. School 2 aims to 'foster a sense of wonder and responsibility for the natural world around us' (School 2 Prospectus, p5) and also requires children as learners to follow instructions, follow rules and work quietly without distracting others (p6). This suggests that School 2 expects their pupils to appreciate and take care of their environment ranging from the natural resources to national cultural heritage and to public properties, and to learn to be well-mannered towards teachers, peers, themselves and people in the communities, conforming to certain standards of behaviour. The following rules concerning the need for safety indicate the reinforcing of good behaviour:

* Play sensibly where you are allowed to go
* Look after property and possessions
* Be careful moving around the school

(p15)

Schools 1 and 4 also seem to work towards the same goal in this respect. School 1 lays importance on positive behaviour and sets this as one of the school's aims in the school prospectus, which is 'to encourage all children to learn the merits and importance of courtesy, good manners...' (School 1 Prospectus, p4), requiring pupils to 'behave responsibly for themselves, for teachers, for each other and for the communities.'

This value of being responsible for others and for self is enhanced by the 'few explicit rules' policy in School 1. Under the subtitle of Discipline in the prospectus is this

statement – 'Discipline is an important part of our lives and begins in sensible routine. School rules are few, since we believe that, by being insistent on good manners and consideration for others, children quickly become aware of their responsibilities to themselves and others (School 1, p4).' School 4 also aims to develop an understanding of obligations a person has to the communities in which s/he lives and works, both looking at the internal world extending from the school to the community. This school has rules, which are more explicit, it has its own Golden Rules (see Photo 1-1), which are posted at the school foyer, in front of the school office and in the school hall. Three of the seven rules, with regard to the value under question, are designed to promote responsible behaviour:

Do be honest, don't cover up the truth;
Do look after property, don't waste or damage things;
Do tell somebody if you are unhappy. And a rule from the Playground Rules,
Remember to say sorry if you accidentally hurt someone.

School 3 is rather different to the other three schools. The understanding and acquisition of skills, attitudes and values as well as religious education are all in line with the requirement of the National Curriculum. The provision of a Catholic Christian setting at school, however, is where it distinguishes itself from the other three church schools, and it aims to 'ensure that the curriculum provide a Catholic Christian setting in which our children can grow in understanding and in acquisition of skills, attitudes and values' (School 3 Prospectus, p3), featuring the unique characteristics of religious orientation, including sacramental programme, collective worship, class masses, morning assembly prayer, afternoon class prayer and penitential services. The School Mission Statement (p1) robustly embodies its religious richness that the school aims for and is permeated with the Christian spirit of benevolence:

To develop the spiritual, intellectual and social awareness of the entire school family within the framework of the teachings of Jesus Christ so that our children are enabled to contribute fully to the life of the whole community.

Thus each pupil as a member in this large family of the school is expected to be friendly, kind and gentle to one another, working together towards the good of a larger family, the whole community. More demanding and detailed behaviour requirements are reflected in the rules posted on one of the school hall doors just concerning dining:

Always enter the hall quietly and calmly;
Do not push, shove or queue jump;
Always walk to your place;
Eat politely showing consideration for others;
Talk quietly; and
Leave the hall in an orderly manner.

All the four schools also stress the importance of health and safety, ranging from food, clothing, medicine to playing, child pickup and parking, requiring responsibilities of the teachers, parents and the children themselves. In this aspect, School 1 can be a representative of the four schools. They request parents to 'ensure that their children are always sensibly dressed for the weather, including suitable coverings in the summer sun as well as winter cold and wet. All children require PE kit and these should be available in school every day...and all items of kit and clothing require a clear mark with the owner's name.' (School 1, p5) This puts the health and safety of the children on the agenda. By obtaining support and co-operation from parents, children are expected to learn to be responsible for taking care of themselves and responsible for taking care of their properties. Again for the interests of the children's safety, the school stresses that 'it is important that children do not arrive in the playground too early, particularly in cold and wet weather on a standard

day' (School 1, p6). School 1 also requires parents to take part of the responsibility for helping the children with their homework and 'teachers value parental involvement in supporting their children's reading development'. When within the classroom, the prospectus indicates that 'the teacher has the full responsibility for the educational and pastoral progress of the class' (School 1, p7).

- The Teachers in interview

The interview with Mrs VB (E-School 1) well reflects the school's priority of the first component focusing on health and safety. As a headteacher herself, Mrs VB is more powerful than the other three teachers in making specific rules for the school's needs and has more influence to make things happen. She invited a research visitor from a Meningitis Foundation to give a talk to the whole school at the school assembly and to the Foundation each child donated £1, for which the children all had a non-uniform day. With her own experience of this dreadful disease as a young girl and also a girl in her class who lost her hearing because of the disease, Mrs VB, concerned about the children's healthy growth, intended to raise the children's awareness of this disease through this activity. 'Meningitis affects children,' she said, 'It is meaningful to me because when I first came here from London, I got this disease and I was very ill and nearly died. So I'd like to support, and particularly as we have a child in school, who's made deaf by the disease.'

The further strategy of helping children talk about their unhappiness used by Mrs VB suggests that she not only attaches importance to the children's physical heath but also to their mental well being. 'My philosophy is that we talk very openly about problems,' Mrs VB told me. One boy, who had problems with his stepfather, was able

to talk at the school assembly about his childhood. Quoting the boy as saying 'Yes. I had a very bad week at home. My parents made me very unhappy', Mrs VB further expounds the importance of this strategy or in her own words, her philosophy, 'He was able to express this in front of all the children, in front of 78 children so that the children understand what his problems are and they were trying to support rather than make fun, say 'You don't have a father or whatever.' So it's healthy and also it is therapeutical to the child to be able to express his anxieties. And so therefore it retains a sort of better atmosphere in the school'. Another example was one girl, who lost her father in a tragic accident. 'We didn't not talk about death,' Mrs VB continued, 'we talked about death very openly at the assembly time, so that the girl was comforted by it, the support from us.' So here these two examples suggest two values – one is responsibility. It is our responsibility for support those who are in need of our help and understanding;. the other one is respect for others – whatever his/her family background, he/she should be equally respected.

Mrs TB (E-School 3) told a similar story about letting children talk openly about their unhappy experience so that they would feel better and so that others would understand their experience and the open talk would become educationally effective. However, there were differences in terms of the family based personal experience, possibly because of the difference of social background between rural and urban areas. Children in this case were encouraged by Mrs TB to talk to the class about family experiences of racism and discrimination in a complex multi-cultural urban society. 'We used to have discussions about racism and prejudice,' she said. The family of one of the Asian boys in her class had been victims of a racial attack and had seen racist slogans painted on walls near their home. Another boy, while walking down the road with his mum, was confronted by a group of teenage boys who shouted across 'Paki'.

'How he was really hurt,' Mrs TB continued, 'because they were insulting his mother. And then we were able to talk about it in class because I think sometimes children need to feel the experience of somebody they know and it meant something to them. So they saw the relevance of it, if you were in the street to call somebody names, how much it can affect somebody else.'

Some explicit values may immediately emerge from this event such as experience, empathy or understanding others, which make the value of responsibility more educative. A sense of responsibility, which was implicitly passed on to the children, may be looked at from a different angle: in this large multi-cultural family, every member is equal and every culture should be respectfully understood. It is our responsibility to build the society into one where people from different cultural backgrounds may live in harmony.

Moral responsibility may spur people to make moral judgements. The idea of Mrs TB's bringing this lived experience into the awareness of the children matches up to the school prospectus, where it claims the aims of the schools as 'to enable our children to contribute fully to the life of the whole community', which implies that contribution here is part of social responsibility, and understanding, helping, showing respect for others in the community, which then becomes part of the contribution. Children in School 4, the other urban school, according to Mr HS, were rarely confronted with incidents like this; and the two teachers from the two rural schools told me when asked about racism that they had never had such problems because the children were all white British from local villages.

Responsible behaviour was what all the teachers paid attention to. Take Mr HS (E-School 4) for example. Mr HS maintained that it was the teachers' responsibility to develop children's good behaviour. He believed that it was important for the children to behave sensibly, but teachers must set pupils good examples. 'Children follow our example...For me, I'm Christian. The guiding principle is the Christian ethics, how to behave to each other'. Mrs DN (E-School 2), on the other hand, appeared to pay more attention to children's disciplinary behaviour and orderliness seemed to be one of her priorities – 'Children have to get on with their work quietly without disturbing others, present their work neatly, certain things go into separate trays [then need to] line up in a straight line and walk in a single file from the classroom to the hall.'

Thus children are expected to behave responsibly to themselves and to people around them. What is important to Mrs DN is that 'if they don't behave well at school, they are not going to behave well in the secondary school, they're not going to behave well as adults.' In this sense, it is the teachers' responsibility to educate the children to behave responsibly. So responsible behaviour is built up through daily classroom activities such as the above discussed 'walking in a single file'.

- The teachers in class

In the previous section on individualism, I discussed Mrs VB's (E-School 1) project of research into river pollution from the aspect of autonomy. This project could also be seen as showing responsibility to take care of the environment and to protect it from being polluted. I can also provide another example of a similar environmentally focused project to further illustrate this cultural value being transmitted.

Mrs VB (E-School 1) assigned the children to make costumes out of waste materials or 'rubbish' as the children called it. 'They did the design, chose the materials and made them, all by themselves,' Mrs VB told me. The costumes were a shopping bag knitted vest, a top and a skirt made of rubbish bags and colourfully embroidered in bits and pieces, and two suits of armour made of other waste materials. 'They are going to put these on at the Costumes Show in the village hall next Wednesday,' Mrs VB continued, with confidence and pride, looking forward to the moment of the show.

This activity was significant in several aspects: apart from the development of their practical skills, such as knitting and sewing and their ability to use their imagination, it also helped raise the children's awareness of environmental saving and protection and awareness of citizenship, and the educative effect of telling other children and people in the community through the Costume Show: look after our environment, with all these latter benefits linking into the idea of being a responsible member of the community.

Although as I explained in the previous chapter, I did not intend to match teachers' words with their deeds, I did happen to observe that Mrs DN's behaviour in class confirmed her view of 'orderliness' expressed in the interview. Mrs DN (E-School 2) is strict with the children in terms of discipline and she demands orderliness in class. She would praise a child for doing a piece of work neatly and she would immediately point out what behaviour was unacceptable. In one lesson Mrs DN required the children to put their assignment books back into their drawers group by group when everybody tried to make their way to the cabin, which had drawers accessible for each child. On another occasion, when she was giving an announcement just before the end

of the day, several children were talking to one another without paying enough attention to her, Mrs DN called out, 'That's not the behaviour that I expected from the children of Class One [the mixed Year 5 and Year 6 is so called]. Some of you have had a bad day today. I want you to have a better day tomorrow.'

A teacher may find it necessary to criticise a pupil for misbehaviour, but sometimes a teacher, like Mr HS (E-School 4), may find it as necessary to apologise to a pupil for getting him/her wrong. When you have done something wrong, you will be responsible to put it right; if you have wronged somebody, then you must apologise and put it right. This is a commonly received moral maxim and this was the standard that Mr HS employed in his classroom practice.

Mr HS was helping children with their maths work. He suddenly spotted on one desk the paint, which he apparently had told the boy who sat at the desk to clean up. He walked up and gently but firmly said to a boy at the desk, 'You haven't cleaned that desk up yet. The paint is still there. You did it and you do it. It's your responsibility.' 'Yes,' the panicking boy answered. 'Were you involved?' Mr HS turned to the neighbouring boy. 'No. We were painting on that desk over there,' the boy timidly responded. 'So,' Mr HS confirmed, 'it wasn't you who did the paint?', looking and pointing at the poor wronged boy. 'No. We were at that table. When we came, the paint was dry.' Several other voices assured the teacher what the boy said was correct.

All of a sudden, Mr HS realised that he had made a mistake. Without any hesitation, he apologised to the boy, saying with the tone of regret 'Oh, I am sorry. I apologise. I was wrong. I was just making an assumption.' Turning to the whole class, loudly and sincerely, he expressed his immediate feelings as a much respected teacher and a

moral model in front of this group of children, 'I'll say it again. I was wrong. I apologise.'

Mr HS had already expressed his view of teacher modelling during the interview: 'Children follow our example'. In this event he openly and heartily apologised to a pupil and to the whole class for his mistakenly reproaching somebody for something he saw with his own eyes and believed with certainty. He used himself as a vivid moral example and taught the children the moral lesson - You can criticise other's wrongdoings and you must apologise for wronging people.

- Summary

The above discussion and analysis both show that all four schools placed emphasis on the first two of the three components of the value of responsibility designed in the National Curriculum – personal/social/moral responsibilities, and community involvement. Among the schools, School 2 looks, in a broader sense, into a wider range in terms of the two components with an extension to the natural world, whereas School 3 focuses on the two aspects with a strong religious flavour. As for the third component outlined in the National Curriculum, all four schools appear to lack explicit dynamic programmatic guidance for children's practical involvement in terms of making themselves effective in public life through their knowledge, skills and values, although this was evident in classroom practice. Similarly all four teachers are found to reflect their views expressed in their interviews in their classroom practice. However, the teachers take different strategies to make their cultural messages either implicit or explicit. Mrs VB (E-School 1), for example, through undertaking a small research project, places the children in a real situation for them to explicitly sense and

fulfil their social responsibility. By contrast, Mr HS (E-School 4) passes on the value of responsibility implicitly through modelling; and Mrs TB (E-School 3), though making the value explicit, raises the children's awareness by accomplishing a pedagogical task in relation to an imaginary situation.

4.1.3 Social awareness

- The National Curriculum

Caring in a community can be seen as an aspect of social awareness. The value of social awareness relates to the skills needed in practical life and, more significantly, it contains principles of how to conduct oneself and also the necessary skills of awareness and empathy in society. In the section of Values and Purposes underpinning the School Curriculum, the National Curriculum affirms the importance of this in education and states that education should contribute to

> 'valuing ourselves, our families and other relationships, the wider groups to which we belong, the diversity in our society and the environment in which we live, and it should also reaffirm our commitment to the virtues of truth, justice, honesty, trust and a sense of duty ' (1999:10).

One cannot live in isolation in the world and the existence of others incessantly influences individuals and societies. Children need to develop the ability to relate to others, to live in harmony and work for the common good. Therefore the school curriculum is expected, as stated in the section of Aims for the School Curriculum, to 'develop the knowledge, understanding and appreciation of pupils' own and different beliefs and cultures' and also to 'promote pupils' self-esteem and emotional well-being and help them to form and maintain worthwhile and satisfying relationships,

based on respect for themselves and for others, at home, school, work and in the community' (p11).

The ability to co-operate with others may best reflect the highlights of social awareness, which may be embedded in a variety of school and classroom behaviour. In the section entitled *Learning across the National Curriculum*, 'working with others' is one of the six skills that are described as key skills that will help learners to 'improve their learning and performance in education, work and life'. The skill of working with others includes the ability to 'contribute to small group and whole-class discussions, and to work with others to meet a challenge'. In this sense, the National Curriculum further indicates that if pupils are to work with others they must 'develop social skills and a growing awareness and understanding of others' needs. All subjects should provide opportunities for pupils to co-operate and work effectively with others in formal and informal settings, to appreciate the experience of others and consider different perspectives, and to benefit from what others think, say and do' (p21).

To this end, the National Curriculum has required both knowledge and skills in respect of the education of social awareness. In the light of the strategy of 'working with others', it is clear that the profundity of understanding and respecting differences of other individuals, groups or cultures lies in making progress by learning from others' strong points and offsetting one's own weaknesses. Thus the National Curriculum describes this as 'children learn to understand and respect our common humanity, diversity and differences so that they can go on to form the effective, fulfilling relationships that are an essential part of life and learning' (p136).

In regard to developing good relationships and respecting the differences between people, under the heading of *Knowledge, Skills and Understanding*, the National Curriculum requires the school to teach pupils:

- that their actions affect themselves and others, to care about other people's feelings and to try to see things from their points of view
- to think about the lives of people living in other places and times, and people with different values and customs
- to be aware of different types of relationships, including marriage and those between friends and families, and to develop the skills to be effective in relationships
- to realise the nature and consequences of racism, teasing, bullying and aggressive behaviours, and how to respond to them and ask for help
- to recognise and challenge stereotypes
- that differences and similarities between people arise from a number of factors, including cultural, ethnic, racial and religious diversity, gender and disability
- where individuals, families and groups can get help and support.

(The National Curriculum, 1999:140)

- <u>The School Prospectuses</u>

The National Curriculum focuses on social awareness by looking at two main aspects – knowledge and skills, which appear in varying forms of presentation in the school prospectuses. Key words used in the four prospectuses which conform to the two aspects of knowledge and skills include 'awareness', 'tolerance', 'consideration for others', 'recognise and welcome differences,' 'co-operate with others', 'sensitive', 'honesty', 'kindness', 'sharing', 'happy and caring' (School 1), 'respect', 'share', 'work well with others', 'polite', 'friendly and kind' (School 2), 'understanding', 'concern', 'supportive', 'co-operation', 'honesty' and 'openness' (School 3), and 'awareness', 'sociable', 'caring' and 'courtesy' (School 4).

School 2 briefly indicates that 'the school aims to instil a respect for religious, moral and spiritual values both in ourselves and others' (School 2 Prospectus, p5), and children are required to 'share and work well with others, be polite to adults and

children (p6) and be friendly by being kind' (p15). School 4 sets out to 'create a learning community...which nurtures the children's growth into sociable and caring people (School 4 Prospectus, p3), aiming to expect the very highest standards of courtesy to and from all members of our community and to develop an awareness of, and respect for, differences amongst people, races and religions' (p3).

Schools 1 and 3 provide more details and set forth their aims and requirements in tune with the National Curriculum. School 1 aims to 'create a happy and caring environment, in which each child can work and enjoy learning' (School 1 Prospectus, p4). Children need to 'show tolerance, the ability to recognise and welcome differences, to co-operate with others and be sensitive to their needs, and the willingness to build positively on cultural differences' (p8). School 1 stresses children's interpersonal skills – 'the development of an awareness of self and a sensitivity to others, and the ability to form and maintain satisfactory personal relationships and to collaborate with others' (p9). 'Caring, consideration for others, honesty, kindness, sharing, etc.' (p10) are considered as priorities children's everyday life experiences.

In School 3, they aim to ensure that the children's experience of relationships within the school 'has a formative and significant influence on their understanding of relationships'. Children are expected to 'show concern for all the teaching staff together with the non-teaching staff, parents and peers (School 3 Prospectus, p3). They also aim to 'promote a school climate which is supportive to all and which encourages honesty, openness and co-operation between teacher and child' (p9). Different from School 1 and the other two schools, School 3 demands 'the co-operation of children, parents and friends' - letting the school know if there is 'any

way the school can help parents or people in the parish or the local community', to develop the school 'as part of a caring community' (p12). This appears to be another expression of the team spirit of the 'large family'.

A striking difference in terms of this theme of social awareness seems to lie between the two urban schools and the two rural ones in the use of the word *community*. Schools 3 and 4, the two urban schools both use this word and School 3 even uses it twice, but neither of the two rural schools includes the word. This may suggest that the prominence given to the conception of community in Schools 3 and 4 implies a more complicated and demanding situation in an urban area, where people from different cultures or ethnic groups need to understand and respect each other and unite to contribute to a local community of harmony. This may bring us back to one of the previous discussions, where it was mentioned that children in the two rural schools had rarely met any foreigners while pupils in the urban schools had been living in a multi-cultural environment. It may be that in a rural environment the sense of community is already well embedded and people do not need to be made aware of it, i.e. in the urban areas, community has to be built; in rural area it is assumed already to exist. (see comments in Alexander, 2000:234-238)

- The teachers in interview

Findings from the interviews show that Mrs VB (E-School 1) and Mr HS (E-School 4) focus on skills and Mrs DN (E-School 2) and Mrs TB (E-School 3) stress knowledge or social awareness. It also reveals that teachers do not necessarily follow explicitly what the school prospectus requires or otherwise, they may consciously or unconsciously carry out what is missed out in the prospectus. Take Mrs VB for

example. The school prospectus does not explicitly include the concept of community, but the spirit of community is reflected in what she says in her interview:

'We generate funds. And we help others. I don't like any of my children to miss out any extra activity because they can not afford it, such as a trip or a camping holiday. We pay for those parents who cannot afford to send their children...In this school, we do try to support the parents. We have lots of resources, for example, our computers, are only allowed for children who are from poor backgrounds to have our computers during the holiday, so that they have access to computers, and just like maybe their peers.'

Economically, physically, psychologically supporting the children and the parents, and showing concern for children's healthy growth and active involvement in the collective activities and their academic development are just the carrying forward of the spirit of community. Loving and caring for people seem to be the top line in the respect of skills of social awareness.

Although School 4 places importance on the idea of community in their prospectus, the idea does not seem to be on the agenda of Mr HS although it does appear that Mr HS himself is fully aware of the children's needs. He says, 'Children from poor backgrounds are determined and quick thinking but they need security, love and to be valued; those from good backgrounds are lazy. You need to enable them all to have self-esteem'. Here then Mr HS talks about the individuality of the pupils and their needs but does not concentrate on the fostering of the value of social awareness, although self-esteem seems to have its role to play in social awareness.

Mrs DN (E-School 2) would not allow 'gutter language' at school, which she links to acceptable behaviour in a community. 'This is not school language' she says, 'It is the language of outside of the school...You are not allowed to say that.' The truth is simple, as Mrs DN points out, 'If they don't behave well at school, this school, they

are not going to behave well in the secondary school, they're not going to behave well as adults.' It appears that this is confirming that how children are taught to behave in school is the behaviour that will help them as adults in terms of social relationships and it is in a way 'rejecting' certain aspects of the community. On the other hand, rejecting certain behaviour can be seen as part of the process of mediating culture and reinforcing what is good and acceptable. But what may not be acceptable in the school is acceptable at least some parts of the wider community – the language issue as reported by Mrs DN. There is though the kind of ambiguity in values between different sectors of society picked up by Bourdieu (1974) and Bernstein (1966) mentioned earlier.

Mrs DN is not unique in this viewpoint. When asked if she found it very important for Year 6 teachers to help the children to be aware of behaving well, Mrs TB (E-School 3) replied,

'I think even younger, I think all the way through, particularly before they move on to secondary school. Because I feel when they go to secondary school, it tends to be, this is a very general comment, that when children become adolescent, in their teenage years, you get a lot more on intimidation and, or at least the intimidation becomes stronger. It may have been there when they were younger. So you may have a child at this age who calls somebody else a name, for example. But when they get to be a teenager, 15 or 16 year old boy, they may then carry it on, they don't only call somebody a name, but they hit them or they get a gang together and then it can become a more frightening thing or it can become a stronger opinion. I think at this stage you can still help to change their ideas.'

In Mrs TB's point of view, respect for others in the development of social awareness seems to be most significant. Disrespect may lead to untrustworthiness. Calling someone names is disrespectful of others and taking other people's belongings without permission is disrespectful behaviour. This is how Mrs TB goes on:

'We sometimes talk about having respect for other people and respect for other people's things. So you do not go at somebody's things without asking first. So sometimes you will just talk about this or somebody does something. If somebody came in and went to somebody else's pencil case, you would say 'Do not touch other people's things without their permission. You know, you have respect for other people's property. We talk about bullying, thinking about how other people feel, and having respect for other people. And imagine what you would feel if you were the person who was being picked on.'

Meanwhile Mrs TB holds a distinctive opinion about whether the children are aware that they should show respect for others' different habits of dress, food, etc. She believes that the answer is positive and even if they do occasionally misbehave, they may just do it accidentally or 'sometimes they just forget'. Below is how she explains:

'I think they know they should show respect. I think it's not they don't know, they do know. But I think sometimes they forget. And I think what also happens to children is that sometimes as a group by beginning to make fun, it starts off as a joke, but to the person who is the victim, it's not funny. I think sometimes this is what happens. And I think that's a general thing for children, you know, one person might say something, somebody else laughs, somebody else enjoys it. And then quite quickly you could have, you know, one person here, and three or four here laughing. Thinking this person thinks it's funny as well, but this person doesn't think it's funny and goes home very upset. Because sometimes the person who's being laughed at, may not show they are upset. They might sort of laugh, they might even join the laughter, you know, to fit in. But then they go home hurt by what's been said. So I think they do understand, I think sometimes they just forget.'

- <u>The teachers in class</u>

The four teachers take *respect* most seriously. With regard to knowledge and skills of social awareness, the concerned knowledge is contained in the events themselves that took place in class, and the related skills are passed on through the ways they are dealt with by the teachers. The following brief description of a few events shows that it appears that the three female teachers in this study tend to encourage precaution and try to prevent children from making mistakes, and the male teacher tends to be confident and ready to deal with any mistakes.

Mrs VB (E-School 1), for instance, when she asked what if somebody would not reply to their letters concerning the research in river pollution, warned the children that it would be rude not to reply to people's letters; Mrs DN (E-School 2) told the children to pronounce my name correctly, and to behave well and be polite; Mrs TB (E-School 3) reminded the pupils that if they were going to bring to school the military uniforms, letters, photos or diaries kept by their family members or relatives concerning World War II, they should take good care of these objects to show respect to the owners and their valuable collections; Mr HS (E-School 4) corrected his mistake when it actually happened in wrongly criticising a boy for the stain of paint on the desk, and apologised to the boy in front of the class to show respect for the boy's self-esteem.

All the three examples of the three female teachers are concerned with thinking about how it feels for other people (empathy), and the teachers modelled this by broadening the pupils' imaginative horizons. The male teacher, however, modelled respect directly by his own action. The idea of empathy or respect reflected in Mrs TB' interview. Mrs TB (E-School 3) described an event that happened to one of her pupils as an example of empathy. Now Mrs TB brought her pupils to an imaginary situation, trying to teach the value of moral responsibility by giving a writing lesson on moral tales and Aesop's fables, one of which was 'The Blind Men and the Elephant' from *101 School Assembly Stories* by Frank Carr, a story about six blind men who gave biased views about what an elephant was like by touching the animal.

One of the comprehension questions was when the blind men were asked to examine the elephant, what mistakes did they make? In discussing this question, to help the pupils understand the moral of the story, Mrs TB explained to the class, 'People may hold their own narrow view of every question without seeing anyone else's, therefore

we must learn to examine ideas all over as the blind men should have examined the elephant because you will never understand anything unless you look at it from many different angles.'

Examples of such events defy enumeration. However, there is one more thing worth mentioning, i.e. pupils' undisciplined talking. This may fit in the scope of discipline, but in this case it happens to be a typical example from the perspective of *respect* relating to all four teachers. The happenings may be similar and the nature of them may be identical, but the strategies used in dealing with them appear to be varying and more importantly, the teachers' attitude towards the disrespectful event is unequivocal.

Mrs TB (E-School 3) named a boy five times in one lesson because he kept talking to his neighbours. When she warned the boy for the fifth time, she raised her voice, 'OM, Quiet!' Mrs DN (E-School 2) was giving an announcement just before the end of the day when she noticed that two or three children were not listening but talking to one another. Mrs DN called out, 'That's not the behaviour that I expected from the children of Class One. Some of you have had a bad day today. I want you to have a better day tomorrow.' In the case of Mrs VB (E-School 1), she was talking about the geography assessment in a geography lesson (children make the subject assessment for themselves each term) and a boy interrupted her by repeatedly calling her name. Mrs VB's reaction to the first interruption was a glance at him. Her response to the boy's second interruption was, calmly, 'Now, can you give me a chance, please?' When the boy interrupted Mrs VB for the third time, her response was firmer:

'Excuse me, you are being rude! When you come to do your work, you won't know what to do and then you'll be saying 'what is it? what is it? what is it?' Pay attention.

You are going to go to secondary school. Teachers will not tolerate you interrupting a lesson. You've had a very bad day today, and I'm not going to put up with it any more!'

Mrs VB, Mrs DN and Mrs TB were signalling to the offender(s) and everybody present that pupils need to show respect for their teacher and interrupting a lesson or talking to others is impolite, and repeatedly interrupting someone's talking is intolerable. Mr HS (E-School 4), however, dealt with a situation in a different way. It seems that Mr HS started with a threat or punishment of exclusion from the children's most valued Christmas presentation. In fact the whole matter was strategically handled.

Among the school's seven Dos & Don'ts 'Golden Rules' is *Do listen to people, don't interrupt*. Unfortunately one boy from Year 6 did talk to others and was not listening to Mr HS (E-School 4, also Deputy Headteacher) speaking at the school morning assembly. Mr HS did not pay attention to it then, but he found a chance to come back to this matter in class when this same boy happened not to be able to recite all his lines in a play to be presented at the Christmas party in the Christ Church. 'I am very reluctant to offer you the chance of taking part in the Christmas presentation, because you kept talking at the assembly. If I tell all of you not to talk in the church and keep you aside, you will still talk.' Hearing this, the stunned boy burst into tears.

Now Mr HS turned to the class making it the responsibility of the class, 'What do you think can help this boy grow up?' Some said they believed he would be doing better and suggested that he be given another chance. The time came and Mr HS turned to comfort the boy, saying 'I know he is really very keen to be part of the presentation and trying to do it well. I think he knows much better now and he knows he was

wrong to keep talking to people around him at the assembly.' The boy nodded his head.

It is interesting to note that all four teachers deal with the same disciplinary problem – children talking while they are not supposed to, three cases of talking in class, one in assembly. In all cases children were warned or criticised in relation to not showing respect for teachers. Dealing with this situation was expected to bring both short-term and long-term benefits, raising the children's awareness of both the surface and the deep consequences. The surface consequence is that not showing respect for teachers makes the teacher angry and upset and the deep consequence, as both Mrs VB and Mrs DN warned them, is that their behaviour will not be acceptable as secondary students or adults. The immediate effect brought about is the stoppage of the children's talk (Schools 1, 2 and 3) and the showing of repentant tears (School 4); and the long-term effect can be expected if the children remember this lesson and show respect for others.

4.1.4 Effort

- The National Curriculum

Effort I have taken to mean an internal drive for personal success and a demonstration of one's willingness to make progress in life. Fostering the value of effort in children means providing rich and varied contexts, in which pupils can 'acquire, develop and apply a broad range of knowledge, understanding and skills'. The National Curriculum requires that the school curriculum should 'enable pupils to think creatively and critically, to solve problems and to make a difference for the better'. More precisely, the school curriculum should give pupils 'the opportunity to become

creative, innovative, enterprising and capable of leadership to equip them for their future lives as workers and citizens' (The National Curriculum, 1999:11).

Among the three aspects of knowledge, understanding and skills, as noted above, skills is identified in the National Curriculum as the decisive factor in change. In the National Curriculum, *Improving own learning and performance* is described as one of the six key skills, involving pupils in 'reflecting on and critically evaluating their work and what they have learnt, and identifying ways to improve their learning and performance'. In other words, children need to be able to 'identify the purpose of learning, to reflect on the processes of learning, to assess progress in learning, to identify obstacles or problems in learning and to plan ways to improve learning'. Thus the value of effort is embedded in the process of learning – academic learning and social learning (or behavioural learning), learning to achieve and learning to behave.

Mr HS (E-School 4) seems thoughtful in praising. 'Sometimes', Mr HS says, 'you may give praise to someone alone; you may praise a child within a small range or in front of the class, or in the school assembly, but it just depends. Because for some children, a blink of an eye or a 'Well done' is enough. Some children may not like to be praised in public, which may make them embarrassed or upset.'

Making mistakes or misbehaving may represent lack of awareness of effort. Criticism (punishment) may help raise the awareness of this value or lack of progress, and help realise and correct mistakes or misbehaviour in time. However, Mrs DN (E-School 2) may be very strict with a child who is not behaving in class, but when it comes to academic achievement, she holds a distinctive viewpoint. An informal talk with her during the school assembly revealed that for her effort is valued more than

achievement as one might be at a low level of ability, whatever the achievement, as long as effort is made, she/he must be fully affirmed. If people otherwise are judged by achievement rather than effort, it will be unfair for those who are less able. Mrs DN then showed me two pupils' project files she mentioned earlier, one by CL, one of the top pupils in the class, and the other by GR, one of the four special needs children, and said, 'CL has done it very well. She drew pictures on computer, photocopied and scanned photos. And the texts are all well written' 'GR', she continues, 'is a special needs boy, who can hardly read and write. It's a modern house like in 1930's. So he's nearly done it. For GR, that's fantastic. That must have taken GR amazing amount of time [She speaks with a stressed tone on 'amazing amount']. So, he's nearly finished and he's basically, in fact, he doesn't actually need to do a front cover. He just needs to put the title on here. You know, for him, that was excellent.' So this is an attitude for which achievement focuses upon process rather than ability.

Mrs TB (E-School 3) holds that removing pupils from class is sending them to calm down, but sometimes it would be as a punishment. In her case, Mrs TB, if they are being cheeky or doing something wrong, she would say 'Take your work and go to Miss S's class for ten minutes.' Or 'Take your work and go to Mr M's class for ten minutes.' Mrs TB would also speak to parents if someone was not working properly or if they were very badly behaved. They would be sent to the Headteacher sometimes.

A different kind of punishment was used in School 1. 'We don't have any punishments as such' Mrs VB said, 'We try to talk out the situation, try to make the child see what is done wrong. We ask him why he's [sic] done it. If it's bad behaviour in the playtime, we'll say why. It might be that he's been picked on by somebody

else. So we discuss it and quite often we will ask the children 'What do you think would be a good punishment for the child concerned?' Mrs VB then gave an example of a punishment suggested by the children themselves.

'For example, we had some problems with the bathroom, the boys' bathroom window and some of the boys were trying to throw things out of the window and one of the members of staff noticed this. So they asked them these boys were behaving badly what do you think we should do to punish them. Also in the bathroom there is a bin when they wipe their hands, the towels go in the bin. Quite often, the towels are on the floor. So the children said we think the good punishment for them is to go in and pick up all the towels and make sure they are in the bin and not around. So they had to do that for the week. That was a punishment that came from the children themselves. So you know, it's really good like that.'

- The teachers in class

Mrs DN (E-School 2) was talking to the class about the project on 1930s and 1990s. She was showing the work by a girl called CL. 'This is CL's. CL's doing schools from 1930s to date. It's lovely, nice colour, very clear. And she's got one page on school uniforms. She painted it herself on computer, which will go through to you in a minute. She's downloaded some information from the computer herself. Well done. Give her a clap, class.' Mrs TB (E-School 3) was showing the class some good pieces of work. Holding the work by a girl, she said, 'Boys and girls, I am just going to show you EM's work. She's got a cover. Very nice, you see...And she's got a very beautiful piece of writing about peace. 'Peace be with you...Just be calm and gentle...' It's really beautiful. A lovely piece of work.'

Mrs VB (E-School 1) praised one boy for a fairly improved piece of writing though the work he was given was always easier than the rest of the class. She announced to the whole class in a very encouraging tone, 'Have you all noticed how well SM is managing now without his helper here [There was usually a support teacher helping

SM and another boy TM]? He's not making any demand on the teacher. Very good! Even Mrs G now comes in and says how well he's doing now.'

Mr HS (E-School 4) did not praise the pupils for the sake of praise only. Three boys of the class were invited by Year 3 to recite three poems on Central America after they performed in the school assembly. Mr HS called for a class discussion in groups on what they could benefit from reciting poems to Year 3. Praises were also given during the discussion.

Feedback from each group:

* teach them different things
* confidence in front of audience
* make people laugh (Mr HS: 'What a gift!')
* experience of reciting aloud to a lot of people
* bring people's attention
* performance skills
* entertain people, put people before yourself, work hard for other people
* group spirit (Mr HS: 'You're getting better in working together. Congratulations!')

Then Mr HS turned to the three boys and concluded, 'You worked hard in choosing a poem and memorising the poem. You deserve that success. Littlest infants don't know what you've done, but they do know that's something important.'

Teachers may sometimes have to deal with pupils who leave their assigned work unfinished. However, the attitude towards this issue and the strategies used may vary from teacher to teacher. The four teachers in this study happened to have all been seen dealing with this problem – children's unfinished tasks. All teachers intended to make use of the event as a vivid educative example. For the pupils it can still be regarded as a good lesson on the value of effort - good work cannot be achieved without efforts. If you don't work conscientiously, you will not make any progress.

Mrs DN (E-School 2) and Mrs TB (E-School 3) talked about their small projects, showing good pieces of work to the class. Mr HS (E-School 4) was checking some weekend homework of memorising song lines and Mrs VB (E-School 1) was referring to a class task. All four teachers would give the children some extra time to finish their work, but Mrs DN and Mrs TB were offering the extra time, Mr HS was reluctantly extending the time till the following week, and Mrs VB was urging a child to have the work done within the set class time by offering the extra time. Similar events were treated with different attitudes. Not finishing the set task within the time limit was seen by all as undesirable, and extending the time for the task is intended for the children to maintain the sense of accomplishment.

Mrs VB (E-School 1) saw a boy not concentrating on his work but talking to others, and said, trying to make the boy and the rest of the class as well aware of the value of effort, 'DV, I noticed that your name is never up there [Names of those who have finished their work are listed on the board]. If you take three weeks to do it, then you do it. So the choice is yours. You make a decision and you waste your time now and you do it other times. Or you use this time, which is set aside for it and get it done. So what is your choice going to be?'

When talking about the small project comparing 1930s with 1990s, Mrs DN found that quite a few pupils had not finished their work, saying, 'If you've still got loads and loads of work to do, that's fine. I haven't finished mine yet. So we'll come to arrange the time when you think you'll be possibly finished. Yes. Some people still have one page to do. Some people have just got to bind it. Some people have got loads to do...But everyone will have to bring your project to class tomorrow, no

matter how many pages you have done, one page or a hundred pages.' Here again effort is emphasised.

Mrs TB realised that some children would need some more time to get information from relatives outside Bristol. She decided to extend the time. Differentiation of ability seems to be much appreciated and progress is expected at diverse levels and at the individual child's own pace. 'Now, boys and girls. I have seen one or two people this morning and they said they needed a couple of more days to get the homework finished off. SN, for example, has got some information coming from his granny who lives in North Yorkshire. His granny has not been very well, so he needs a couple of more days until his granny will be able to send him the information he wants. So if you are somebody who needs a couple of extra days, you may have until Wednesday. Wednesday is the very last date. So when I go down the list, if you are not going to give it to me till Wednesday, and you need to tell me. OK?'

The 'Golden Rules' of School 4 can be found posted on the wall in many places, such as in the hall, at the front foyer, in the front of the school office and so on. One of the Dos & Don'ts 'Golden Rules' on golden paper reads: *Do work hard, don't waste time*; and one of the values informed on the list of aims for the school is *To expect the very highest standards of effort and work.* Working hard is one of the basic qualities of learning and effort leads to progress. Teachers are duty-bound in supervising children abiding by the rules. In one lesson Mr HS checked children group by group to see if they could recite the lines of the Christmas choir song. To his surprise, some children had not done the task well. 'This is a huge lesson – you've let yourselves down. I have trusted you to do your homework. To my surprise, many of you didn't do your homework of learning the lines. If you failed to do your work and you let somebody

down, you let yourself down. And I can't trust you and put you in the presentation. It was a long weekend homework. You received it last Thursday, but didn't do it. If you don't do it this weekend, you can't join in the presentation.'

Here then the children were criticised for not doing their homework and would be punished if they were not going to make it up. The motives used to raise the children's awareness of the value of effort was the part in the Christmas presentation, which was highly valued by every child of the class as a privilege and great honour. The effect of effort was made simply visible by the teacher that if you were to make up your homework properly and you would be able to take part in the presentation, and if you were not to make it up, you would lose the once-a-year opportunity and most importantly to the children, the last chance of experiencing Christmas presentation in their primary education. On the other hand, the effect of making efforts was soon sensed by the children themselves the following week, when they all passed the examination of their song lines, for which they were unexpectedly praised by Mr HS.

- Summary

The framework of the data analysis of this part was built on the four identified value themes, individualism, a sense of responsibility, social awareness and effort. The data used for the detailed analysis in this section was drawn from the sources of six layers. The main focus of the analysis was on the observations backed up with teacher interviews, official documents, etc. The analysis brought up a variety of methods and strategies that teachers used in transmitting cultural values.

4.2.1 The Chinese context

The fieldwork in China started on 21st December 1998 and ended on 18th January 1999. During this period of time I observed in each of the four school nine subject lessons and four lessons of class meetings, two of which were specially arranged for the purposes of this research. Mrs SJ (C-School 1) and Mrs LD (C-School 2) were initially not going to have a class meeting, not because of lack of topics for the meeting but the time limitation before the end of term. When I realised that the class meeting with Mrs LJ (C-School 3) at an earlier time was much richer in terms of cultural values than any of the Chinese language lessons I had observed, I then decided to observe a class meeting with Mrs SJ, and later on with Mrs LD.

Over the past few decades and with the development of the educational reform in China, schools have taken on an entirely new look. However, the centralised educational system still remains unchanged with the national unified curriculum and syllabuses for each of the subjects despite constant revision of the contents. Textbooks of the same set for all the subjects are basically used throughout the country though regional educational departments and educational institutions, where conditions permit, are encouraged to compile textbooks under the condition that the unified basic requirements are met. The Chinese National Curriculum (The State Education Commission, 1994), which covers the 9-Year Compulsory Education and consists of the Primary Section and the Lower Secondary Section taking effect in 1992, has set the objectives of fostering constructive personnel of the country. As can be seen from an analysis of the Chinese National Curriculum, several of the cultural values emphasised in the English National Curriculum Key Stage 1-2 objectives are

echoed here. In the Primary Section, cultural values in terms of personal, interpersonal and social fulfilment are stressed as follows:

- preliminary ideological feelings of love of the motherland, love of the people, love of labour, love of science and love of socialism;
- preliminary development of moral character and qualities of concerning for others, concern for collectivism, being conscientious and responsible, and being honest, hardworking and thrifty, brave, upright, gregarious, lively and enterprising;
- habits of stressing manners and courtesy, and observing discipline;
- ability of self control and distinguishing from right and wrong;
- development of habits of taking exercise and paying attention to hygiene and maintaining good health;
- capability of taking care of oneself, using simple labour tools, and forming the habit of loving labour.

(Extracted from the State Education Commission, 1994:10)

Schools do not have a curriculum of their own and none of the four schools even has a prospectus. This does not mean, however, that schools do not have particularly targeted cultural values. The values are often formal, explicitly stated, or written or posted, to be more exact, on the school building, classroom walls, etc. (see Photos 1-1, 1-2, 1-4, 1-5, and 1-7). I visited two urban schools and two rural schools in China. As every English school has an inscribed board of the school name standing at the school gate, the Chinese schools all have one, either horizontal or vertical. Apart from this, the Chinese schools all have posters externally and internally on display. School 1 is one of the two urban schools. Approaching the school gate, I first saw an eye-catching sign of the school right over the gate. Coming through the gate, what came into my view on the right-hand side wall were 'Professional Moral Standards for Primary and Secondary School Teachers' and 'Civilisation Pledge for the Citizens of Urumqi City', and on the left wall, 'Rules for Primary School pupils' and Code of Daily Conduct for Primary School Pupils', all mounted in glass frames (see Photo 1-

1). In front of the building, was the National Flag, or the Five-Star Red Flag, fluttering in the wind. Now, what greeted my eyes were the three horizontal slogans written in big red Chinese characters on the front of the school building – *Learn to conduct yourself and learn to study*; *Learn to keep physically fit and learn to keep mentally healthy*; and *Learn to appreciate the beautiful and learn to do physical labour* (see Photo 1-5).

These were the exterior features of the school. Now this is my first picture of the classroom of School 1. This class is one of 56 pupils, which is a common class size in China (see Photo 1-6). There are two blackboards in the classroom. The one in the front is used for the purpose of teaching, above which is a big red paper carved slogan, a quotation from Chairman Mao Zedong, *Study hard and do better everyday,* and the other one on the back wall is used as a blackboard newspaper (see Photo 1-7), which is run once from a fortnight to a month by the pupils themselves, presenting all sorts of knowledge and information concerning study, health, morals, state and international affairs, etc. Above the blackboard newspaper there is another slogan, which reads 'Love the country, observe discipline, be diligent and be brave'. On the left side wall of the classroom is a *Study Field* displaying chosen well done work from the class and on the right side wall is the Red Flower Table (see Photo 1-4), which bears everybody's name and the number of red flowers obtained in regard to study performance and behaviour in all aspects during the whole term. These red flowers mean much to the children. By the end of the term, a general review is made on the basis of the number of flowers each pupil has got. Those, normally the top three to five in one class according to the school set ratio – from one in fifteen to one in twenty – who get the most flowers are bound to be awarded the glorious title of 'A Pupil of Three Excellences', referring to excellent morality, excellent study

performance and excellent health, together with some material prizes, such as books, dictionaries, pens, schoolbags, etc.

The cultural messages carried in these physical details will be looked into in some detail later in this section. It is likely that cultural values of Chinese schools reflect the spirit of the values stressed in the national curriculum with teachers as the reinforcers and transmitters of these national cultural values and personal cultural values though we did see some variation in English schools. The primary school teaching situation in China is slightly different to that in England. Compared with their English counterparts, Chinese teachers work as specialists in one subject, one teacher teaching one subject but to pupils in one or two or even three classes of an average number of 50 children, or over 70 sometimes, in the same year band. So the teachers' workload is usually so heavy that teachers often have to work in their own time, i.e. at home and stay up till midnight, preparing lessons or marking exercises, resulting in lack of academic attainments of teaching research and publications. The teachers work under much pressure and stress, contributing their own time to their job underpaid and without overtime pay. 'Everyday we go home exhausted but come to work in high spirits the next day. Everybody works cautiously and conscientiously and hard regardless of criticism, and willingly bears the burden of office without giving any thought to personal gains and losses,' Mrs LD (C-School 2) remarked in her interview.

As England and China are two countries that are geographically so apart and historically so different from each other, one might assume that they may be culturally more different than similar and teachers in the two countries may transmit different cultural values to their pupils. This research produces some fundamental findings of

both similarities and differences between the teachers' classroom practice on both sides. I have discussed the four main values transmitted by the English teachers in the preceding section, and now findings of the four main values transmitted by the Chinese teachers will be examined and discussed in the following part of this section. These values are analysed in the same way as in the English contexts. The four themes that were identified were:

- collectivism
- a sense of responsibility
- social awareness
- achievement

4.2.2 Collectivism

Collectivism can be seen as a core value in the Chinese culture; patriotism can be seen as a stronger level of this value. Individualism, on the other hand, is often used or referred to in a derogatory sense. Even since pre-school education, children are taught to bear in mind that individual interests should be subordinated to the interests of the collective. This teaching is implicitly and explicitly embedded in the Curriculum for the 9-Year Compulsory Full-time Primary and Lower Secondary Schools in China (The State Education Commission, 1994).

- The curriculum

Cultivating the good virtue of 'concern for the collective' is one of the Aims and Objectives set for the primary education required in the Curriculum, along with some basic development of Five Loves, i.e., love of the motherland, love of the people, love

of labour, love of science and love of socialism (p10). The Five Love education is conducted mainly through the subject of Ideological and Moral Education, which constitutes the elementary contents of civic and ethical education and social common knowledge, aiming to raise ideological awareness, moral integrity and the ability to make moral judgements, and cultivate moral sentiments and guide the behaviour of children, and lead them gradually to build up a scientific outlook on life and world outlook so as to lay a solid foundation for them to become a rising generation that has lofty ideals and knowledge and culture, and which conscientiously observes discipline (The State Education Commission, 1996:20).

Collectivism as a virtue is fostered in class and pupils understand the teaching of 'No collective, no individuals'. Of the above Five Loves, love of the motherland, love of the people and love of socialism can all be seen as endorsing collectivism. In the Syllabus for Ideological and Moral Education (The State Education Commission, 1996:2), teachers are required to cultivate pupils' sentiments of loving their hometown, their motherland and socialism and gradually to foster lofty ideals of contributing to building the motherland, defending the motherland and realising the socialist Four Modernisations (i.e. industry, agriculture, national defence, and science and technology). Teachers are also required to educate pupils to be loyal to the motherland, to the people and to be good children of the Party. Pupils need to learn to be concerned about the collective, cherish the good name of the collective, actively participate in collective activities and strive to fulfil the tasks assigned by the collective. Children should also learn to defer to the group when matters arise, understand that the minority is subordinate to the majority and individuals are subordinate to the collective, and learn to unite, co-operate, decline out of modesty and help each other in a collective life (p2).

- The teachers in interview

Collectivism was found to be more implicitly referred to by the teachers. In the interviews this theme was not as noticeable as it was when seen in the teachers' classroom practice. According to the teachers' viewpoint, collectivism may be divided into three levels: *the group* (Mrs LD, C-School 2); *the class* (Mrs YZ, C-School 4; Mrs LD, C-School 2; and Mrs LJ, C-School 3); and *the nation* (Mrs SJ, C-School 1). Mrs LD, for example, talks of herself constantly encouraging the children 'to win honour for and do credit to the group they belong'. The *group* symbolises a small collective unit, to which each of the group members makes contributions. If they do this, the children then become, according to Mrs LD, 'more active and more confident in class, and their enthusiasm is brought into play'. Similarly, Mrs YZ has helped all the class members to make contributions to raising a class fund. 'I tell them to collect wine bottles during the Chinese New Year season,' she says, ' and the money from the sale of those bottles will be used in the interests of the class itself.'

Mrs LD herself also considers the class as a larger collective unit and makes it clear reporting that 'there is no difference in this large family of the class to one's own small family', indicating that although the children come from different small families to this larger family, to them it is still as dear as a family of their own and 'they all love it', she added. Mrs SJ, on the other hand, thinks that 'patriotism is one of those ideological moral qualities that are most important in educating children of this age,' which apparently tallies with one of the Five Loves, Love of the motherland, as required in the curriculum. Another manifestation of collectivism is Mrs LJ's description of encouraging the whole class to help and educate one individual from the class by the means of a class meeting in the hope of the pupil realising and

correcting his misbehaviour. 'The meeting was really effective,' Mrs LJ reported smiling, 'At least, he expressed his regret and agreed that if he ever repeated his mistakes, his parents would be invited to a class meeting.' She had made the best of the collective strength, wisdom and apparently, pressure.

So all three levels are mentioned by the teachers and there can be different outcomes at different levels. In the last example, there seems to embody a stronger sense of being responsible for the group.

- The teachers in class

It can be seen from both the interviews and classroom observations that the reputation of the collective is taken good care of by Chinese class teachers and it is also one of the canons applied in judging how successful a class teacher is by colleagues, school leaders or education authorities, or by teachers themselves. Any individual good deed that brings credit to the class is encouraged and commended and any behaviour that impairs the collective reputation is criticised. In class, it was found that all the four teachers explicitly educated the pupils in the spirit of collectivism, Mrs LJ (C-School 3), Mrs YZ (C-School 4) and Mrs SJ (C-School 1) praising the children and Mrs LD (C-School 2) criticising them.

For example, relating to the event of the school's annual winter race of long distance running, many individuals in Mrs LJ's class earned high points, resulting in the class winning the race with the most collective total points, which was a great credit to the whole class collective. Mrs LJ proudly praised the children in her speech in the class meeting, 'We have had a good week. The biggest achievement is in physical

education, winning the winter race of long distance running among the junior teams'. One of the pupils was praised in particular, 'ML won the fourth place in the race, gaining 16 points for our class. She won honour for the class though she was ill. But I hear when she finished the race, she spat a bit of blood... I propose to award ML a red flower.' Here then a slightly different outcome is emphasised: individual effort contributing to corporate 'glory', which then each individual can feel part of – a kind of 'team spirit' in fact.

The class responded immediately to Mrs LJ's proposal with 'She deserves it'. This indicates another 'outcome' of valuing the collective – there is the opportunity to praise and be praised in public by many people – as opposed to for example by one person, i.e. the teacher. Meanwhile the teacher's praise delivers a message, which emphasises the ML's success in the race and her success in difficult circumstances, and also implies that this success comes from ML overcoming physical difficulties (illness), which demonstrated her personal bravery and altruism, which are particularly praiseworthy. With great gratitude for her contribution and her sense of collective reputation, ML was awarded a red flower of merit and glory [Red flowers are one of the means of praise in the Chinese school rewarding system (see Photo 1-4), equivalent of gold stars in the English school rewarding system. It is awarded to children who makes eminent personal achievement or contributes to the collective reputation].

Quite similar to Mrs LJ, who praised the pupils in the class meeting for their contribution to the winning of the winter race of long distance running, Mrs YZ (C-School 4), when concluding their class meeting, praised the class for their New Year's Day party performances which were 'highly commended by the school leaders and

teachers', Mrs YZ went on to say, 'They were amazed at the high quality of the performances...I am so proud of you for the great achievement of your own. Teachers all praised us for the strong sense of collective reputation.' Mrs YZ pronounced this as 'a very good beginning for 1999.' Here Mrs YZ's comments extend some of the ideas expressed by Mrs LJ, namely, the notion of public recognition. For Mrs LJ there is the public recognition that is brought about by praise taking place in the arena of the classroom. Mrs YZ talks of the wider environment of the whole school. Here we could say there is the phenomenon of 'weight of numbers' – something being more impressive if it is done by a lot of people as opposed to being done by one person, which itself reflects the teacher's valuing of collectivism.

Another good deed Mrs YZ praised in the meeting was that two of the boys in the class came to the school before daybreak to clear the deep snow from the previous night. They came at so early a time when everybody else was still at home, and in such a cold weather, down to -28°. 'Why don't they fear cold?', Mrs YZ said, 'Because in their hearts, they are thinking of the interests of the class collective. This is the spirit of collectivism.' [The school has an assessment system to score activities like snow clearing in winter for each of the classes. The class who clears the snow in their designated area earliest and best gets the highest points.] Here is another example of altruism similar to ML's personal sacrifice mentioned earlier for the collective benefit. These two boys are praised for putting the interest of the group first and overcoming the weather difficulty and forgetting about all their own physical discomfort for the sake of the group's benefit. Mrs YZ went on to call on the rest of the class to learn from the two boys: 'We should all learn from them and strengthen the sense of collective reputation in order to win the first place in every aspect.' This

brings up another 'outcome' of belonging to the group, within which you can learn lessons from others.

Winning honour for the collective was also highly encouraged in Mrs SJ's (C-School 1) class and sacrificing personal interests for those of the collective was also a highly praised fine virtue. Some of the pupils in her class won awards in several art competitions within and outside the school. Mrs SJ praised them for 'bringing credit to the class and winning honour for the school,' and she said, 'What a glory it is! I feel so proud of them.' In the view of Mrs SJ, the spirit of collectivism may be embedded not only in winning honour for the class collective or safeguarding the collective reputation, but also in sacrificing personal benefit for that of the collective. Just as with the examples of ML and of the two snow-clearing boys, there was another example from Mrs SJ's class. Mrs SJ praised some of the children for giving up their front row seats to others.

Conventionally in a class tall pupils take up seats in the back rows, and short pupils take up those in front rows so that they can have a good view of the lecturing teacher and the writing on the blackboard. However, to help those less able children to study who are taller in height, teachers may be flexible in arranging front row seats for them or moving them closer to the board in order that they can get more help and more supervision from the teacher, hear the teacher better in class and be under more care of the teacher. [Teachers normally give lessons standing in the front.] Mrs SJ was deeply touched by some pupils giving up their front row seats. 'I thank you for your understanding and support,' she said, 'For the sake of the collective interests and other people's benefit, you have unselfishly given your own up. These are the moral spirit and fine qualities that should be highly praised and encouraged.' Here this

example of praise and the above three examples share something in common – putting personal interest last. The difference may be that those giving up their front row seats do not have to overcome physical difficulties as in the example of ML in the race and the two snow-clearing boys, but they make mental sacrifice by giving up their privileged seats and more importantly they may risk falling behind others due to their disadvantageous positions in the classroom.

Educating pupils in the value of collectivism can be carried out through both positive and negative aspects, praise for winning honour for the collective and criticism for jeopardising the collective reputation. An example of the latter was found in the class meeting of Mrs LD (C-School 2). Mrs LD mobilised the pupils in her class, to help the wrongdoers, three boys, to realise the nature of their wrongdoing, by criticising them publicly in the meeting. Here Mrs LD used the group to endorse the criticism, which can be seen as more powerful than a teacher making a criticism on her own, and which makes pupils more aware of derivation from norms that are accepted by the group.

In the meeting, Mrs LD encouraged the class to make comments and suggestions: 'The school suggests that they make self-criticism first in class and then the school will deal with them. I hope everybody will help them and take care of them by making your comments and suggestions...and then they will receive profound education.' The offences referred to were as follows: on one occasion, one boy disrespected a teacher by sneering at her and on another occasion, two boys deliberately damaged a bench on one side of the school playground. These three boys may have realised what they had done was totally unacceptable and the teacher who was sneered at was hurt and the bench they damaged was public property; and they

may have thought they would not repeat this behaviour. But what they may not have realised is that although disrespecting the teacher or damaging the bench represents individual personal behaviour, from the class teacher's point of view, the offenders belong to the class collective. Thus the pupils' individual behaviour can be seen as having a negative influence on the class and undermining the collective reputation. Therefore, to help the children to become aware of this aspect and to build up the spirit of collectivism is what to 'receive profound education' actually refers to.

Where do 'collective interests' lie in this context? They lie in the overall progress and achievements of everybody in the class collective and most importantly, in an atmosphere of solidarity and happiness, in which each pupil can study well and enjoy equal opportunities.

- Summary

In Chinese culture, bringing credit to the collective is the highest honour itself and it is always associated with collectivism or spirit of collectivism. It seems to be a common view that people should always put collective interests before those of individuals as collective interests are paramount to everything else. If you fail to comply with this rule, you would be looked at negatively, as someone selfish or individualistic. It is common that when someone is given an award, s/he would be humbly stating that this honour belongs to everybody as it is the outcome of the collective efforts; alternatively, s/he would say, 'This bit of achievement of mine is the reward to the correct leadership of the leaders at all levels and the support of all my colleagues. So I owe this achievement to the Party, the people, the collective and to everybody present.' Never would anyone announce that s/he just deserves it.

The Chinese teachers in this study seem to use both praise and criticism as explicit tools to foster the spirit of collectivism. From those examples discussed above, we can see that the value of collectivism appears to be emphasised and this is incorporated on the three levels of group, class and nation, with particular emphasis on the first two. In other words these Chinese teachers appeared to value acting for or representing a wider constituency than the personal self (in contrast to the praise for the individual seen in the English classrooms). Although 'representing one's nation' was not specifically mentioned by the teachers, the rhetoric of the national school rules suggests that any small scale group contributions can be seen as contributing on a national level.

4.2.3 A sense of responsibility

- The curriculum

A sense of responsibility is found to be one of the most important values in both the English and Chinese contexts. Raising children's awareness of personal, social and moral responsibilities appears to be an integral part of the teaching objectives. In the Curriculum for the 9-year compulsory full-time primary and lower secondary schools in China (The State of Education Commission, 1994), 'cultivating the fine qualities of being conscientious and responsible' (p10) is placed in a prominent position, with the presentation of the Chinese version of how children as the successors to the cause of revolution, are nurtured and educated to be personally, socially and morally responsible. The national curriculum stipulates that children should 'basically cultivate the qualities and characters of being concerned for others and the collective, conscientiousness and responsibility...bravery and integrity..., and form the habit of observing discipline and the ability of self-management' (The State Education

Commission, 1994:10). 'Concern for others and the collective' may belong to the category of social responsibilities; 'bravery and integrity' displays one's moral responsibilities; 'observing discipline' is the practice of being personally responsible; and finally, as a member of the collective, when conducting 'self-management' in terms of both words and deeds, one needs to be responsible for oneself, others and the collective.

• Rules for primary school pupils and Code of daily conduct for primary school pupils

The State Education Commission issued 'Rules for Primary School Pupils' in September 1981 and the 'Code of Daily Conduct for Primary School Pupils' in August 1991 (The Ministry of Education, 1998:91, 95-96) (see Appendix 6.6). Posters of these two documents are often seen hanging up on the classroom walls (see Photo 1-1). In the Rules, there are two articles that refer specifically back to the Curriculum as indicated above in terms of a sense of responsibility: Article No.7 'Observe school discipline and public order' and No.10 'Be honest and brave, don't tell lies, and correct mistakes' (The Ministry of Education, 1998:91). The Code, based on the Rules, has developed fundamental requirements of primary school children's daily conduct in detail in twenty articles, including some which also indicate personal responsibilities ('Observe traffic regulations; cross the street on the crossing; ride bicycles according to the regulations; do not play or run after one another on the high-way, railway or dock'), social responsibilities ('Buy tickets of one's own accord when taking a public bus or vessel, give up your seats of your own accord to the old, the young, the sick and the disabled; observe order in public places, do not push and squeeze at the entrance or at the exit; do not walk about, and keep quiet when watching a show'), and moral responsibilities ('Be honest, do not tell lies and correct

mistakes, keep promises, do not touch other people's property without permission, return things to others after use, pay for damage to public property, and hand over found property to the owner or to the collective; be brave in taking the initiative to report and struggle against bad persons and bad things') (pp95-96).

The above text provides a brief account of responsibilities of primary school children required in a series of official documents. Children normally study the rules and code with the class teacher when they first start school and they grow up with the rules and code accompanying them throughout the six years in primary education. Teachers put posters of the rules and code on the classroom walls so that children can measure themselves by the rules and code at any time. So these exist as a visible presence in the environment. Now we will move our focus onto the class teachers themselves and find out how they educate the children and help them to cultivate a sense of responsibility.

- The teachers in interview

A class teacher is a dual-status person who on the one hand, teaches one subject usually the Chinese Language, to the class and on the other hand, is in charge of the class in all pastoral and academic aspects (see Chapter I). Apart from teaching, a class teacher is mainly responsible for the overall wellbeing, academic achievements, relationship co-ordination, the collective image, or simply the success, of a whole class of up to 70 individuals. Thus a class teacher becomes a synonym for responsibility and a vivid example him/herself in educating pupils. The following selected words and deeds by the teachers in this study will be able to provide a more detailed illustration of the topic of responsibility concerned.

By their professional instinct, the four teachers in this study appear to regard everything in relation to the class in their charge as within the scope of their personal responsibilities, no matter whether it concerns an individual or the class collective, academic achievements or wellbeing, words or deeds. It seems that whatever the teacher's words or deeds, it is all based on the main theme of *help*, which is driven by the internal power of the sense of duty. This implies that help from teachers at school is seen as bound into a sense of responsibility. Possible examples are Mrs SJ (C-School 1) launching a small project for the improvement of the children's writing ability, and Mrs LD (C-School 2) working hard when she got home exhausted at the end of the day.

Mrs SJ and Mrs LD particularly both seem to attach much importance to a sense of responsibility in their teaching. Mrs SJ designed a special piece of homework, Diary Selection, in the hope of achieving two aims: 'One of the aims,' she said, 'is that the pupils can collect materials for their practice of composition writing...With the help and supervision of the teacher, the selected diary will be developed into a weekly composition.' Mrs SJ expected that this 'special homework' would help improve the pupils' writing ability by having day to day practice It seems that this aim was achieved. 'So far, it has been very useful and effective and I tell myself my efforts have paid off,' Mrs SJ commented with gratification.

- <u>The teachers in class</u>

Class meetings as a traditional class-level administrative means in Chinese education (from primary to tertiary levels) are founded on the idea of responsibility and other disciplinary behaviour. They function as a forum where you discuss publicly what

you have or haven't done, where the class teacher (and sometimes the pupils) points out the implications of what has been done and the necessity of what has not been done – all linked to responsibility.

Different kinds of behaviour are discussed in the class meetings. The process throughout is either one of praise or criticism focusing on the accountability of pupils. In Mrs LD's (C-School 2) meeting, however, there is a predominance of criticism. In the case of Mrs SJ (C-School 1), she put emphasis on the aspect of study. Mrs LJ and Mrs YZ (C-School 4) handle similar problems in their class meetings, with regard to some subject representatives' lack of responsibility in collecting and submitting assignments on time. Mrs LJ (C-School 3) stressed that those subject representatives were just 'not responsible enough and must pay attention to it.' Later on in that meeting, when it was the turn of the subject representative of Physical Education to report on the situation during the previous week, this PE representative could not tell the names of all the children who contributed to the class winning the school's winter race of long distance running. In view of this situation, Mrs LJ clarified the responsibility of the boy as the subject representative. 'You don't know?' She said, 'As a person in charge of Physical Education, you ought to make sure who are those 16 people among the first twenty. You should know fairly well.' Mrs LJ seemed to be reminding the two children of their responsibilities, and she was doing this by way of soft criticism. These two comments were in fact meant to warn, not just the two subject representatives concerned, but also the rest of the class, that one must do well the job that s/he is responsible for.

Mrs YZ comments on the six group leaders' reports on studies and she expresses her dissatisfaction about their too brief reports on the subject of Chinese Language. 'The

group leaders didn't go into any detail about our lesson of Chinese Language,' she said. 'The homework for Chinese Language is normally checked by group leaders and I will not have any idea about how the homework is done if it is not reflected in the group leaders' reports.'

Apparently Mrs YZ (C-School 4) was criticising the group leaders in the same way as Mrs LJ criticised their subject representatives, but there seems to be some difference between the two in terms of the degree of responsibility that the children concerned were charged with. Subject representatives in Mrs LJ's class (C-School 3) just do the job of collecting and submitting assignments while group leaders in Mrs YZ's class shoulder the responsibility for correcting the homework. This move of the teacher indicates that Mrs YZ provides the children with more opportunities for them to experience duty perhaps in the hope that this will help foster the children's independence and strengthen their sense of responsibility. Also a message to all the children in her class is that if one fails to discharge her/his responsibility, s/he is bound to receive a criticism.

In the classes of both these teachers then there are clear expectations of responsibility to be taken by the children. In Mrs LD's class meeting, three boys made statements of self-criticism, which were then commented on by the rest of the class. Their misdemeanours were destroying public property and disrespecting one of the staff members. This is part of one of the three boys, DW's statements:

On Wednesday afternoon, I didn't go home right after school and I damaged a bench on one side of the playground because I was eager to outshine JZM. I didn't realise that I was destroying public property and was not aware that it was a facility provided for people coming and going to rest on. I was so simple-minded and acted on impulse. With one simple kick, I caused loss to public property. What's more important is that laid bare my shortcomings in the code of behaviour. This event is a profound lesson

for me. From now on, I will keep this profound lesson in mind solidly and let it warn me at any moment to be a good child of the best character and scholarship. Here I sincerely hope that everybody will not copy me and will take this event as a lesson. I also hope everybody can help me in every aspect and I am ready to accept criticism by any of you. I will correct my mistake with practical deeds. As I have damaged the school's bench, I am willing to accept any punishment by the school and teachers. To my teacher and classmates present today, I once again hereby sincerely say 'Sorry, I am wrong.'

This statement was applauded immediately by the whole class and Mrs LD even commented it as a very good one. This boy recognised his sense of responsibility in seven aspects: his responsibility in physically damaging the bench - *I damaged a bench on one side of the playground*; his responsibility in damaging public property which was for the benefit of the public - *I caused loss to public property*; his responsibility in violating the rules - *that laid bare my shortcomings in the code of behaviour*; his responsibility in self-improvement - *let it warn me at any moment to be a good child of the best character and scholarship*; his responsibility in warning his peers of his lesson - *everybody will not copy me and will take this event as a lesson*; his responsibility for accepting the consequences of his misbehaviour - *I am ready to accept criticism by any of you; I am willing to accept any punishment by the school and teachers*; his responsibility for bringing bad reputation for the class collective - *To my teacher and classmates present today, I once again hereby sincerely say 'Sorry, I am wrong.'*

Mrs LD then called on the class to be equally responsible and to make their comments after the boys made their statements: 'I hope everybody will help them and take care of them by making your comments and suggestions.' Many of the children actively commented and offered good suggestions. In Mrs LD's opinion, it was an educative session. 'Through today's class meeting,' She concluded to end the meeting, 'I believe we all have received some profound education. I think it is a very good lesson

for us all.' For the three boys, it was an opportunity for them to experience help, care and responsibility from the class collective; and to the rest of the class, it was an opportunity to practise their personal responsibility and contribute to the collective strength in helping the wrongdoers.

- Summary

The four class teachers in this study all share a strong sense of responsibility. The structure of the class meeting itself seems to function as the source of explicit semiotics of the value of responsibility. The message from Mrs SJ's (C-School 1) 'opening speech' at the very beginning of the class meeting - 'This is a lesson of class meeting. Be serious.' – may have been immediately passed on to the children and they appeared to respond with a conditioned reflex, because it is clear what sense a class meeting makes: it is a forum where you can discuss publicly what you have or have not done, and where the teacher (sometimes the pupils) points out implications of what has been done, such as the incidents of two boys damaging a bench and another boy sneering at a staff member (Mrs LD, C-School 2), and what has not been done, i.e., two subject representatives did not do their duty well, where both cases are linked to the value of responsibility, and could result in being criticised, or otherwise in the cases of good deeds, being praised.

4.2.4 Social awareness

Social awareness is a part of the educative process. It is a fine virtue embodying one caring for others and cooperating with others in the community. In the meantime, it is also linked to the values of collectivism and responsibility. One cannot be expected or expect him/herself to show this value without being a contributive and responsible

member of a group or community, namely, a collective. In addition, social awareness, may refer to 'respect for others' and 'self-respect/face'. In terms of transmission of this cultural value, detailed requirements of education in this regard may be found in the Curriculum and other related official documents in the following discussion.

- The curriculum

In the Curriculum, 'love' and 'care' seem to be two of the main themes outlined in the teaching objectives, requiring pupils to 'gradually foster the thoughts and feelings of 'love of the motherland', 'love of the people' and 'love of socialism', and fine qualities and characters of 'concern for others', 'concern for the collective'..., honesty...and gregariousness, and form the behavioural habits of good manners...' (The State Education Commission, 1994:10). The qualities and characters of honesty and gregariousness, and the behavioural habits of good manners thus fall into the decisive personal factors that can help establish healthy relationships between all levels.

- Rules for primary school pupils and Code of daily conduct for primary school pupils

In respect of educating pupils in the development of good social awareness, the *Rules* point out the same ideas asking pupils to 'love the motherland, love the people and love the Chinese Communist Party', and 'concern for the collective...respect teachers, be on good terms with fellow pupils, behave in a well-mannered way, don't swear, and don't come to blows.' (The Ministry of Education, 1998:91). In the *Code of Daily Conduct for Primary School Pupils*, the 'love of the motherland' in the *Rules* is transformed into requirements for concrete action of specific semiotic behaviour, which enshrines codes of social awareness. Children must 'respect the national flag

and national emblem, be able to sing the national anthem, and when the national flag is being raised and the national anthem is being played, stand, take off your hats and make a salute with eyes and if you are a Young Pioneer (Young Pioneers is a progressive mass organisation of young school children in China), make the Young Pioneer's salute.' (p95). The terms of 'respect' and 'good manners' from the *Rules* are extended in the *Code* to details as follows, which characterises the value of social awareness by: formality in language and behaviour; codified greetings; spatial distance; helpfulness; empathy, etc.

- Respect the old and love the young, love fellow pupils fraternally, and treat people equally; offer help to people in difficulty and disabled people; and respect the habits of other ethnic groups.
- Respect teachers and when meeting teachers, make a salute, take the initiative to greet teachers, and address teachers with a respectful form, not teachers' names.
- Show filial respect to parents, concern for parents' health, and help parents with their housework of one's own accord; accept parents' and elders' correct instructions; and greet parents when leaving or returning home.
- Treat people politely; speak with civility and speak *Putonghua* (Mandarin Chinese) and use polite terms; knock before entering others' rooms and don't enter without permission; don't disturb others' work, study or rest; and don't come to blows and don't swear.
- Be polite, warm and natural and poised towards foreign visitors, and do not crowd to look on or tail behind them.

(The Ministry of Education, 1998:95)

- The teachers in interview

The Chinese National Curriculum emphasises particularly respect and good manners. The analysis of the data reveals that the core of the value of social awareness appears to be *respect*, which can be divided into four different levels: respect for oneself (in Mrs LJ' case), respect for peers (in Mrs YZ' case) and respect for teachers (in Mrs LD's case) or elders or authorities, and respect for the collective (in Mrs LD's case).

In the interviews with the teachers, 'respect for others' seemed to be a common topic. Mrs SJ (C-School 1), Mrs LJ (C-School 3) and Mrs YZ (C-school 4) all stated that they criticised those children who did not show respect for teachers or fellow pupils. By contrast, Mrs LD (C-School 2) had a different view about this. 'It's never necessary for me to punish those children who do not behave because I know they respect me', she said. From the point of view of Mrs SJ, for example, it is very important that children show 'respect for the old and love for the young, and fraternal unity'. When asked how she would deal with conflicts between pupils, Mrs SJ replied, 'I would call in the offender and give a severe criticism, and then ask the offender to apologise to the offended in front of me.' The effect of the solution to problems like this is immediate and obvious, and 'they become friends again just like before,' Mrs SJ said.

From those examples Mrs LJ gave in relation to conducting oneself, respect for people was given the first priority. 'I tell them to respect people, especially those disabled,' she said, 'because we know some people outside there may make fun of or make nicknames for some disabled people.' Her description suggests that she sends direct messages that making fun of or making nicknames for disabled people is undesirable, and she also expects some understanding of and sympathy for disabled people, and 'I explain to them how difficult disabled people's lives could be when they can't live as normal people do,' she continued. When I asked her for a concrete example of action showing respect to disabled people, Mrs LJ said: 'To give up your seat to them on a bus, for example'. She also gave an example of one of her pupils whose father has an eye disability. 'The children never tease the boy because of his father' eye problem', Mrs LJ said.

Like Mrs SJ and Mrs LJ, Mrs YZ had the experience of dealing with someone who disrespected others, but she and Mrs LD had something in common, i.e., mutual respect between teachers and pupils. When someone does not behave in class, she would have a talk with him/her afterwards. 'I rarely name somebody in front of the class,' said Mrs YZ. And later she repeated, 'I don't have to punish them, and if a child doesn't behave, I would call him/her to my office and talk.'

Mrs YZ reported an occasion which involved not only criticising lack of respect but also involved her in thinking about not damaging the pupil's own self-respect. 'There was one occasion', she said, 'I had to deal with a complaint from a girl in front of the class during one class meeting – the boy next to the girl calling her 'Old Lady' because she really looks much older than she is.' This time Mrs YZ found herself in a dilemma: she had to criticise the boy to do justice to the girl on the one hand and had to, on the other hand, be very careful not to hurt the boy's self-respect in front of the class, thinking, meanwhile, of the impact on the whole. 'Because she reported to me in front of the class, (this had to be dealt with straightaway) I said to the boy, 'Both of you are classmates and she's at the same age as you. How could she become an old lady?' And I asked him to say something...he admitted it's wrong. I asked him how he would behave in the future...' Dealing with this matter itself is educating the boy as well as the rest of the class in showing respect for others and how to deal with it is concerning how to co-ordinate the relationships between the children and between the children and the teacher. It is obvious that Mrs YZ handled this matter tactfully and those soft words, such as 'I said to the boy', 'I asked him to say something', 'I asked him how he would behave...', must have saved face for the boy.

In this case, there could be a tension between the relationship between the child and the teacher and that between the child and his/her peers if it was not properly handled. Mrs LD (C-School 2) was explicit about this facet and put it in a very straightforward way: 'How you treat the children will be the way you are treated. The children do respect me, so I have never thought of taking whatever measures to punish them when they don't behave sometimes.' Then how would Mrs LD deal with misbehaviour? She gave a more in-depth view on this, 'I talk to them individually,' she told me. 'They are grown up now and they have reasoning. I carry out ideological work, explaining where s/he is wrong and how it is wrong so that s/he comes to an understanding of the matter.'

In dealing with issues like this, Mrs YZ and Mrs LD shared something in common. According to Mrs YZ, if the teacher names and criticises a child in front of the class, 'she/he would feel embarrassed, self-respect hurt, losing face and fearing that she/he may be looked down upon by peers, and thus may become hostile to me because of the way I dealt with it', Mrs YZ reported. Therefore that would create a mentally vicious circle that keeps going on, not to mention any respect for the teacher, resulting in failure to achieve the anticipated outcomes and making things even worse instead. 'So if criticism is needed, I would criticise the child privately, away from the class, to save face for the child and no to hurt his/her self-respect'. Thus the child would be grateful to the teacher for both helping him/her realise and correct the fault and for the way the teacher deals with it.

- The teachers in class

The theme of caring for others occurred frequently in class meetings. In one class meeting, Mrs SJ (C-School 1) criticised a child for not getting on well with his neighbours. 'WCh,' Mrs SJ said, 'when you sat at the back, you didn't get on well with people around you and now in the front, you are still the same.' She seemed to be the strictest teacher of the four in this study and when criticising somebody, she was most straightforward without sparing his/her feelings, which was what I found most distinguished from the rest of the teachers. This teacher did not model the empathetic saving-face strategies mentioned by Mrs LD (C-School 2) and Mrs LJ.

A boy named XJZ in Mrs LD's class was criticised because he sneered at a teacher who looked a bit fat, in doing which he broke the Rules for Primary School Pupils and the Code of Daily Conduct for Primary School Pupils. 'He didn't respect the teacher, laughing wildly at Teacher Chen', Mrs LD said at the beginning of the class meeting and continued: 'He was in fact sneering at the teacher because that laughter made Teacher Chen feel unbearable and offended. Our teachers transmit knowledge to us, but how could we sneer at them. That made Teacher Chen very angry.' 'Through today's class meeting,' Mrs LD concluded, bringing out the theme of the class meeting, 'we all have received some profound education. People should be self-controlled. If you respect me, I will respect you as well.' Here Mrs LD pointed out the cooperative nature of society. Another boy called MJ in Mrs LJ's class was criticised because he imitated barking of a dog in class, which was not only regarded as a disciplinary misbehaviour, but also considered as a lack of self-respect. 'You're a human being and how can you imitate barking of a dog,' Mrs LJ remarked.

- Summary

This section has discussed some differentiation between the teachers in China in dealing with problems. Mrs SJ most explicitly and straightforwardly criticises pupils and does not seem to try any face-saving strategies, which could result in the criticised children like the boy in the front row on the right end (see 1.10) looking completely upset. What Mrs LD reports in her interview is found similar to the view expressed by Mrs VB (E-School 1) that she does not have to punish the children. Other teachers like Mrs YZ expressed similar idea and she even 'rarely name somebody in front of the class'. The cultural messages as such are thus believed to be implicitly transmitted.

4.2.5 Achievement

Achievement as one of The Chinese teachers' emphasised values will be discussed in this section by looking at four particular dimensions, which emerged as prominent both in the official documentation and in the empirical data: *academic performance*, *physical labour*, *PE achievements* and *daily life*. Achievement can be seen as the product of hard work, so hard work will be looked at inevitably as one particular aspect of the value of achievement. Hard work may refer to the attitude towards studying assiduously, the attitude towards hard struggle, the attitude towards diligence and withstanding hardship.

- The curriculum
  - *Syllabus for Physical Labour Education*

As part of the teaching objectives in the Curriculum, it is required that pupils need to 'gradually develop the fine qualities and personal characters of love of physical labour, love of science...and thrift..., foster the ability of self-study, form a good study habit..., learn to take care of their daily lives, be able to use simple labour tools, and form the habit of doing physical labour.' (The State Education Commission, 1994:10).

The Syllabus for Physical Labour Education has some detailed requirements in its objectives: 'Through the education and practice of self-care work, housework, work for public good, and simple productive labour, pupils need to acquire some basic labour knowledge and skills; gradually cultivate a correct attitude towards physical labour and good habits of doing labour; foster sentiments of ardent love for labour and the labouring people; cherish the fruits of labour; and understand that labour creates wealth of the society, labour is glory, and that no labour is superior, inferior, noble or humble.' (The State Education Commission, 1998:1, 5; 1996:11; 1989:72).

- Rules for primary school pupils and Code of daily conduct for primary school pupils

The Rules requires children to 'study well and make progress every day...listen attentively in class, do assignments conscientiously...love labour, and do everything they can; lead a thrifty and simple life, value cereal foods [the fruits of hard labour on the land], not to be choosy about food and clothing, and not to spend money extravagantly.' (The State Education Commission, 1998:91).

Based on *the Rules*, *the Code* requires pupils to 'value cereal foods, value articles for daily use and for studies, not to be choosy about food and clothing, not to spend money extravagantly, save on water and electricity...listen attentively in class, be brave to take the floor and ask when not clear...actively participate in all sorts of labour organised by the school; clean well the classroom when on duty [The 'on duty' system: children of one class are divided into groups – normally five, each group is on duty for one week day – and each group takes its turn to maintain the hygiene of the classroom, including erasing the blackboard after each lesson, sweeping and mopping the classroom floor and the corridor, etc. after school]; keep the classroom and the school campus clean and tidy; do whatever one is able to do; put one's own clothing and daily necessities in good order; learn to tidy up rooms, wash clothes, do washing up and other housework' (The State Education Commission, 1998:95).

The Rules and *the Code* have given prominence to two terms: diligent and hardworking. In Chinese these two phrases are near synonyms. To 'study diligently' and 'work hard (labour)' appear to form the peak of the value of achievement. Children are encouraged to study diligently and work hard (labour) in order to master knowledge and skills and become persons of great value to society, and to understand and to love the labouring people and the fruits of labour.

One can assume that labour is a strong cultural priority because performance in labour is one of the standards for measuring development in an all-round way. Many children's books contain stories and heroic deeds of labouring people and great figures. Take for example one story 'Labour is most glorious' from a children's reader *Educating Youngsters in World Outlook, Outlook on Life and Values*. In this reader,

there is a story about Chinese Chairman Mao Zedong and his son. Chairman Mao once sent his beloved eldest son to learn labour knowledge and skills, and temper his willpower in a 'Labour University', a remote, poor and backward countryside in North Shaanxi. On a spring day in 1946, Chairman Mao said to his son Mao Anying, who had just returned from a Russian University, 'You have graduated from one of the Russian universities, but you have only obtained a half of knowledge, which is incomplete. Therefore you need to go to another university, the 'Labour University', where you can acquire a lot that you can never get from books.' (The Compilation Committee, 2000:128). By reading books like this, children are imbued and educated to think about 'labour', and they become aware that labour is essential to everybody.

- The teachers in interview

Through the interviews with the teachers, it was found that they talk of fostering the spirit of hard work in children by way of positive guidance. The teachers described the efforts they had made to spur the pupils on to study diligently. Mrs SJ (C-School 1) believes that 'hard work is very important'. She assigned a Diary Selection project and required her pupils to report on activities after school, ranging from reading books to watching TV, reading newspapers, helping parents with housework, etc. Just as Mrs SJ was working with her pupils on their Diary Selection, Mrs LJ (C-School 3) and Mrs YZ (C-School 4) were also demanding the children's diligence in their own ways: they require the children to do as much reading as possible after school. 'Just recently,' Mrs LJ told me, 'I wanted everyone of them to invest 10 *yuan* (£0.8) on books in spite of those many books we already have in the reading room, and every Thursday they pass their books round.'

Mrs YZ did not require her pupils to invest any money on books, but she encouraged them to 'read any useful books'. 'I tell them to read all kinds of books that are useful,' she said, 'and make notes of any good phrases and sentences'. Mrs YZ also stresses the need for hard work beyond reading books. 'As a grown-up in the future,' she went on, 'what they have learned from books will prove to be just too little in the future.' Mrs LD (C-School 2) told one of the boys to work hard to gain satisfactory examination results in order to please his father, who beat his son because of his poor exam results. 'Although your dad is very busy with his work, how could he not be pleased to see your great progress in your studies?' Mrs LD reported saying to the boy.

• The teachers in class

Achievement appears to be one of the main themes discussed in the class meeting. Study and physical labour were always two of topics of all the class meetings that I attended. As a class meeting is a general review of the class situation over the past week, some children get praised for excellent performance and great progress while others inevitably get criticised for misbehaviour or other faults or mistakes. At one class meeting, Mrs SJ emphasised the importance of hard work by alerting some of the pupils to cherish the opportunity of taking up the front seats and studying hard to catch up. 'Try your every effort to catch up as soon as you can,' she said.

This explicit statement confirms Mrs SJ's valuing progress and achievements in study. She encourages hard work, for which she even rearranged the seats for those less able children. The message to the class from those two terms 'enjoying your great progress' and 'gloriously return' is crystal clear: any progress you make is something

you can be proud of. But Mrs SJ also conveyed to the children what they should not be proud of. 'However,' she looked at those sitting in the front [Front row seats: - explanation by quoting Mrs SJ – 'LD, you know clearly why I moved you from the back to the front row. Normally short children are located at front row seats. Since some tall children like you have proved to be less able and fallen behind in studies not long after the original seat arrangements. I give them appropriate preferential treatment and move them to front row seats so that they can be closer to the teacher, receive more care from the teacher and be in a better position to hear the teacher more clearly. I just intend to help and care for them'], 'if you will be still sitting where you are now in a front seat by the end of this year, it naturally indicates that you haven't made satisfactory progress in your study, which is not something you can be proud of.' Here the sitting arrangement may give outsiders a signal of the value orientation of the teacher. Tall pupils were normally arranged at the back row seats, but Mrs SJ located a couple of tall pupils at the seats closer to the front, signalling that it was for the purpose of improving their performance in study by sitting near the front so that they could see and hear the teacher and be more attended to by the teacher.

Mrs LJ stressed hard work by focusing on the opposite: the undesirability of wasting time. She criticised children playing cards. 'You are going to leave this school soon,' she said in a loud voice, 'but you don't seem to feel any pressure and even played cards in the classroom.' To make her speech stronger, more educative and more convincing, Mrs LJ cited the teachers as models perhaps to influence these children so that they could understand how hard the teachers were working, and why they didn't play cards. 'We all have one and a half hours for the lunch break,' she said excitedly, 'but did any of you ever see any teachers playing cards in the office? LX and ZY are teachers' children and did you two ever see your mothers playing cards?'

'No. They correct assignments, preparing lessons, helping the less able children with their lessons,' some children answered. She led the class through the whole course of questions and answers with the intention of raising their awareness of working hard and wasting no time: '[Instead of playing cards,] why don't you use the time to do some reading or exchange some study experience among yourselves? I hope you all put your attention back to your study.' Mrs LJ ended her speech. Mrs LJ also mentioned the praiseworthy example of the girl named ML [mentioned earlier], who had won honour for the class in a long-distance race, but at great personal cost: she spat some blood when she finished the race.

Another two children were praised in Mrs YZ's (C-School 4) class for their spirit of working hard and withstanding hardship, [these children were also mentioned earlier as examples of collectivism]. They were praised as active in clearing snow. 'DQ and YZJ,' Mrs YZ said, 'are not afraid of piercing cold and tiredness. For more than once they came to school before daybreak to clear the snow when most of us were still at home.' Mrs YZ particularly stressed that one of the two boys: 'Although he is short in height, DQ, he feared no hardships. This is the spirit of fortitude, withstanding hardship, tiredness and difficulties.'

- Summary

The value of achievement may be reflected in study, in physical labour, in PE activities and in the events of daily life. The analysis of the interviews shows that the teachers give positive guidance in order to raise the children's awareness of the significance of this value, and it is found that teachers model themselves and also model children by using the good examples and comment on them explicitly.

4.3 How cultural values are transmitted

It is helpful at the outset of this section to clarify the use of the terms *strategies* and *methods* that are included in the chapter title. As it was designed and carried out, this research looks particularly at the 'how', namely, the ways the teachers' cultural messages are transmitted to the children, both explicitly and implicitly and both consciously and unconsciously. The term 'method' might appear the most suitable. According to *The Concise Oxford Dictionary*, the term 'strategy' is defined as a plan designed to achieve a particular long-term aim (1999:1418); and the definition of 'method' is given as a particular procedure for accomplishing or approaching something (1999:896). However the term 'strategy' is also useful in terms of this research as we can use it to define conscious transmission of cultural values explicitly or implicitly, taking into consideration that unconscious transmission is likely not to follow 'a designed plan'. The term 'method' can be referred to as dealing with both conscious and unconscious transmission of culture as 'a particular procedure' which may or may not be designed, and a procedure may be enacted with or without the actor's awareness. Hence method(s) stands for the neutral word way(s), i.e., way(s) of cultural transmission, in this report to compensate for the omissions of the term *strategy*.

As well as considering the contexts of cultural transmission, and the content of the cultural values transmitted, it is important to evaluate *how* cultural values are conveyed to pupils. In this research, three main modes were identified in the transmission of cultural values: *relying on shared known codes, setting up specific activities* and *using people or contexts as living examples*. In Mode 1, the teachers praised or criticised pupils, measuring the children's behaviour against already known

teacher-pupil shared codes, or pupils behaved in certain ways following certain codes; in Mode 2, the teachers involved pupils in a variety of events or tasks, which carried explicit or implicit values; and in Mode 3, the teachers made exemplary use of pupils, of themselves and of others from outside the school as living embodiments of cultural values. This section will be focusing on those strategies and methods that were applied in the process of cultural values transmission in the three different modes in question, and examples of activities and events will be given in order to see how these modes can reinforce each other.

In terms of how the cultural values are transmitted by the teachers in both countries, it has been found in this research that consciously or unconsciously, sometimes values are explicitly transmitted or explained; on other occasions, values are implicit in what is said or what happens in class.

4.3.1 Methods and strategies used in the three modes in the two countries

The classroom practice in the two countries was found to have produced a typology of methods of cultural transmission, which can be taken as a *common* practice in both countries. Apart from the type of lesson or class function, as discussed above, that transmits an integration of both social and academic values in England and a separation of the two categories of values with social values in class meetings and academic values in normal lessons in China, the three modes of transmission found may not be generalisable but may be transferable.

- Mode 1 - Relying on shared known codes

Four different forms of explicit and implicit transmission of cultural values in this

mode were identified in England and China in this research. These four different ways are:

* visible rules
* praise and criticism
* routine practice
* methods of teaching

- *Visible rules* making explicit the shared codes of teachers and pupils

Posters of Rules for Primary School Pupils and Code of Daily Conduct for Primary School Pupils were posted on the wall of the classroom in China. In England there were rules such as School Rules that were posted in public areas inside the school building, playground rules that were displayed on the wall outside the classroom and dining hall rules that were publicised on the door of the hall. Rules in the schools of both countries were all made publicly visible, but the symbolic value was somewhat different. The Chinese rules represent a top-down official and unchanging voice symbolising the commonly identified requirements and expectations of children's behaviour across the country; the English rules, however, are the bottom-up voice of each of the local school or the children depicting local pictures of a variety of individually characterised specific requirements of each school and relating to the children themselves. There are clear cultural messages to children here which are given the authority of the printed word. Also there is a message beyond the actual words of the posters – that in China authority lies at the top and in England authority is local.

- *Praise and criticism*

Praise and criticisms carry explicit value judgements. In China praise included verbal compliments and physical rewards such as certificates of the Three-Excellence Pupil,

Red Flower stickers or prizes, which are particularly given for good behaviour and achievement. In England, apart from verbal praise, there were the following: a reward system of house points, certificates issued by the headteacher at the school assembly for good performance or behaviour, and prizes as rewards from the class teacher. Written acknowledgement can also take the form of stickers and certificates. 'They get lots of praise. They get stickers. They get loads of certificates,' Mrs DN (E-School 2) says. Stickers and certificates are normally given to children who 'have been working hard', 'have always taken care with their work', 'have been kind to others' or 'have been helpful', and this happened in all four English schools. Children in the four schools may all have chances to win physical rewards, small prizes of 'pretty and nice toys'. In Mrs VB (E-School 1) and Mrs TB's (E-School 3) reward systems of House Points, physical rewards are the final stage. 'They will have a sheet and then we give them house points so if they are polite or if they've done a piece of good work, they get a house point. When they get 10, they get a sticker. Then when they get 10 stickers, I give them special prizes', Mrs VB explains. Things are slightly different for Mrs TB. In Mrs TB's class, 'they are given a house point for doing a job or helping somebody, then, a good mark and they put the mark on the chart. Then at the end of each half term, we, in this class, we give a prize for the top three boys and top three girls'.

In both countries, not respecting others, for example, was criticised. Teachers paid attention to the value of respect for others. In the lesson described earlier, Mrs VB (E-School 1) severely criticised a boy who repeatedly interrupted her talking because keeping interrupting the teacher, as Mrs VB said, was 'rude'. One typical example of not showing respect for teachers in China was that a boy in Mrs LD's (C-School 2) class sneered at a mathematics teacher and later made a statement of self-criticism

and received public criticism from his peers and the teacher. Mrs LJ (C-School 3) also emphasised the need for respect. She talked about an extra class meeting that she once held when a boy was reported following the maths teacher in class and imitating the way the teacher walked when walking down the aisle to check the pupils' work. 'He crossed the line too far and thus a meeting of criticism was inevitable,' She was a bit excited. To the teacher this kind of behaviour had been totally unacceptable and so serious that she suggested an extra class meeting was necessary, and the effect of the class meeting was not only evident in the child's behaviour but also was reflected in his studies. 'This method', Mrs LJ continued, 'perhaps appeared to be successful because the boy made considerable progress after the class meeting and gained 'Excellent' later on in all his Section tests and demonstrated much improvement in his behaviour', but Mrs LJ still expressed some doubts: 'I am still not sure if this method is desirable and I haven't exchanged opinions with my colleagues,' she said.

Some kind of punishment as a strategy was sometimes found necessary by the teachers. Mrs DN (E-School 2) and Mrs TB (E-School 3) apply the same method – removing a child from the class as a punishment. 'Sometimes I feel they need to be removed from the classroom for X number of minutes. So they either go outside the door or they go to another classroom,' Mrs DN said, 'Sometimes they just need to go out to the classroom for 30 seconds or whatever to calm down and give space to them, whoever it was and whatever had happened and then they came back in and everything was fine.' When asked about the expectation of this punishment, Mrs DN replied, 'They know that they've gone well over the line and that behaviour is totally and utterly unacceptable. Sometimes they just need to stay at playtime or whatever.' This method is not often used according to Mrs DN, 'Otherwise,' she said, 'it doesn't work'. So here Mrs DN revealed messages of shared known codes of behaviour and

also it was understood between the teacher and the children that certain unacceptable behaviour may lead to certain punishment.

Thus through praise and criticism cultural values are clearly indicated to pupils. The teacher's *personal* view acts as reinforcement. All teachers are positive about praising publicly, but in terms of 'criticising publicly', teachers in the two countries behave differently and teachers within each country behave differently as well. Generally speaking, The Chinese teachers seem to be more explicit in publicly criticising children than their English counterparts, and they not only do so in other ordinary lessons, but in particular during class meetings.

In England, teachers did not talk about 'criticising publicly', but they all did so in their practice though in different ways, and Mrs VB (E-School 1) and Mr HS (E-School 4) seemed to be more open than Mrs DN (E-School 2) and Mrs TB (E-School 3) in 'criticising publicly'. Mrs VB criticised a boy in class very severely for his interrupting the lesson, and she 'will not put up with it any more' because he is so 'rude'; Mr HS criticised a boy into tears in class for talking to others during the assembly; and both Mrs DN and Mrs TB reported that if a child did not behave in class, they would send him/her outside or to other classes or to the headteacher to 'calm down'.

In China, all the four teachers criticise publicly and very explicitly in class meetings by naming the children although one of them, Mrs YZ (C-School 4) reported that she would not want to name and criticise the children publicly in class in order to 'save face for children'. In her class meeting, Mrs SJ (C-School 1) named and also required the group leaders to name those who did not behave 'so that,' she explained, 'we can

know what's what and who's who'. She criticised them one by one and even mobilised other children to reveal evidence and, in order to raise their awareness of self-accountability, she also asked those criticised children to make statements of their positions: 'Any of you feel you've got something to say?' and 'Would you like to say what you are intending to do?' In another class meeting, Mrs LD (C-School 2) criticised three boys, who made statements of self-criticism, and were also criticised by other children. Mrs LJ (C-School 3) reported that she once held an extra class meeting to specially criticise and even mobilised the whole class to criticise a boy who did not behave in class; and Mrs YZ (C-School 4), contradictory to her view reported in her interview though, seemed unsatisfactory with some group leaders' reports, because they did not name those who they were criticising in the class meeting. 'We should clarify who didn't do well or who did it wrong', she remarked.

- *Routine practice*

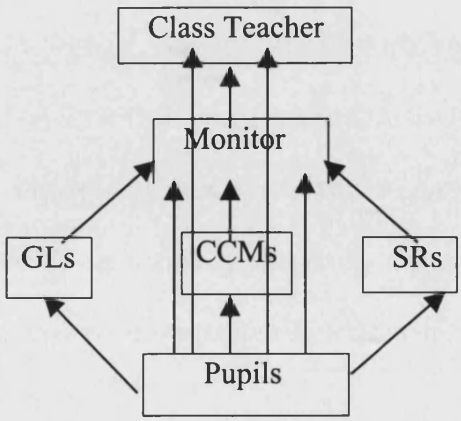
Some routine activities or procedures in China explicitly carry cultural values such as the ceremony of raising and lowering the national flag, children standing up to greet the teacher when class begins, to answer a question in class or to say goodbye to the teacher when class is over, signalling respect for the nation and respect for the teacher. A class meeting is one routine event that takes place once a week and in terms of pupil management, it is considered one effective measure for the class teacher to deal with all sorts of problems. If necessary, one class meeting may be called at any time. In her interview, Mrs LJ (C-School 3) reported how she called an extra class meeting once:

'A boy named YH had been repeatedly reported of being very naughty and misbehaved', Mrs LJ said, 'I decided to call an extra class meeting, a democratic

meeting, the subject of which was criticising and helping YH. Everybody spoke at the meeting, revealing what Yang Hao had done against the rules, resulting in Yang Hao bursting into tears, which indicated that the meeting was effective. At last he expressed his regret and agreed that if he repeated his mistakes his parents would be asked to be present at a class meeting.'

We can also see that a cultural value is evident. In the structure and practice of the class meeting itself this routine event carries a shared known code between the teacher and the children, namely that of accountability. Therefore the class meeting is a serious moment and a special occasion for discussing pupils' behaviour. The process of a class meeting reflects the hierarchical class structure in Chinese schools, thus it is culturally bound. The class structure, with the class teacher on the top, is composed of the monitor, class committee members including members in charge of study, physical education, recreational activities and physical labour [usually there are five of them including monitor], group leaders [A line of desks is a group, two pupils at one desk], and subject representatives (see Figure 4.1 below). They, except for subject representatives, are normally chosen by the class teacher [though sometimes juniors may vote or make comments and the class teacher makes the decision].

Figure 4.1: *The class structure in China*



Notes: GLs = Group Leaders; CCMs = Class Committee Members; SRs = Subject Representativevs

As mentioned earlier, the class meeting itself represents a cultural semiotic of fixed tradition and the routine procedures of it remain a set of patterns. The very beginning of the class meeting, like that of other lessons, is an order or announcement from the teacher, 'Class begins!', which brings the children to an awareness of their personal responsibilities as a pupil in a class, and this phrase also sends a signal of expectations from the teacher that the children are supposed to behave well because it is lesson time not play time. The monitor's immediate order following the teacher's, 'Stand up!', explicitly calls for the collective respect to the teacher. [It is impolite if you do not stand up and greet teachers, or on other occasions, elders, superiors, authorities, or guests.] The teacher's greeting to the class, 'Good morning!' is not only an expression of good wishes but also meant to show respect to the children. With the children's return of 'Good morning' to the teacher, the prologue to the class meeting is thus opened up. Similarly, the pattern of the ending of the meeting, plays the same role as the beginning pattern of the meeting in reinforcing the cultural value of mutual respect.

The monitor, group leaders, class committee members and subject representatives all acted in a similar way to the class teacher when they stood in the front giving reports. Praising or criticising other pupils may on other occasions be simply a means of dealing with behaviour of different natures, but in this case it also seemed to be part of their responsibilities although they were given different roles in the class. By taking the responsibility of the class teacher and regulating the meeting as the chairperson, the monitor seemed to be in a more powerful position than any others.

The function of their reporting, on the three areas of study, discipline and physical labour, was to be on the basis of the present, summarising the past and looking into

the future. In other words, they now report to affirm and praise strong points, and point out and criticise demerits, hoping that strong points will be developed and demerits corrected. Reporting, on the other hand, may help strengthen the value of responsibility and build up courage. One by one standing in the front before the whole class, is in fact an explicit presentation of 'doing one's duty', a live display of their responsibilities to the class, and what's more, one needs to have enough courage to walk to the front and make a report to an audience of more than 50 people, with the presence of the class teacher and acting as a teacher. In this remark, where Mrs SJ used terms such as 'in all cases' and 'directly', she seemed to mean any behaviour or phenomena in relation to the themes of the class meeting should be pointed out and any pupils concerned should be named, whatever or whoever it is. And 'we can know what's what and who's who' significantly implies the value of public accountability.

With comparison to China, there are no such ceremonies as raising the national flag for patriotic education in England; children do not stand when they answer questions; and when school is over, they arrange to leave the classroom in an orderly way and in some schools, to say the last prayer of the day at school. However, there are still some implicit values here: the value of belief in saying the routine prayer of the day, orderliness in the arrangement of leaving the classroom orderly, and equality in remaining seated in answering teachers' questions. In Mrs VB's (E-School 1) lesson, there is one routine activity worth mentioning. It is that children who finish their work go up to the white board of their own accord and write their names along the right side of the board, presenting a list of pupils who have worked independently, effectively, and confidently reinforcing praise for these values. A difference here is that there are common symbolic routines shared across classrooms in China whereas in England routines seem to be set up individually in classes. In other words,

'routines' carry cultural messages but these may operate on a micro-level within a single classroom or on a meso-level in terms of common shared behaviour across a school or schools.

- *Methods of teaching*

Values were often implicitly delivered in the process of teaching. Teacher-centred teaching for example such as in China carries implicit values in itself, featuring examination-oriented knowledge imparting or indoctrination in China. In a typical Chinese language lesson (see Appendices 7.1 – 7.2) the teacher leads the class through the whole text line by line, paragraph by paragraph, explaining the meaning of words and phrases, sentences and sections, raising questions for collective or occasionally, individual answers, and ending each explanation or even the whole lesson with questions such as 'All understood?' and an expected collective answer 'Yes', or 'Any questions?' and a loud confident collective 'No'. Even where there might appear to be personal interpretation, challenge does not seem to be encouraged and children would all agree. Examples like these may be able to speak for themselves. When the teacher says: 'All right. Then the seventeenth paragraph is the fifth section, isn't it?', the whole class just reply: 'Yeah.'; and with regard to whether the second and third paragraphs are both about the decision of Runtu's [a character in the story] coming to help, the children all say 'No.' when Mrs SJ (C-School 1) asks 'Anybody's got any different point of view about this?' (see Appendix 7.1). Also children's interpretation of a word or a section of the text was not really personal and it was all expected to match one correct answer that the teacher had. The teacher encouraged the children to come up with the right answer by asking questions such as 'Anybody want to add anything [to WY's answer]?', 'Did ZK say anything different

from WY?', and 'Anybody else [want to say something]?'. The teacher may as well lend her aids to a right interpretation by offering hints or clues such as 'Can we see the character's inner world?', 'Through what do we understand the character's inner world?', and 'What is *appearance* then? What aspects does appearance include?' As shown in the descriptions of the class meeting, the teacher is always in a dominant position talking most of the time in the class meeting, demonstrating the role of authority and ensuring the required knowledge and instructions are put across. Pupils then will be absorbing cultural values related to power which are exemplified in who controls the lesson, whose 'voice' is heard and what alternative viewpoints are allowed.

The teaching in England, however, was characteristic of child-centredness, allowing children a major role in class, doing individual or group work, freely asking and answering questions. Children were not only given different tasks to suit their individual needs, but also were expected to have different academic achievement or progress. That 'I am sure that some of you would have already started it because we actually looked at them last week.' implies that Mrs VB (E-School 1) expected and encouraged individualisation in terms of achievement at different levels. Mrs DN (E-School 2) also accepted the children's individual differences of achievement levels and even gave some children an extra amount of time for their assignment: 'So we'll come to arrange the time when you think you'll be possibly finished. Some people still have one page to do. Some people have just got to bind it. Some people have got loads to do.' In another class, Mrs TB (E-School 3) also expressed her individualised requirements: 'If you are somebody who needs a couple of extra days, you may have until Wednesday. Wednesday is the very last date.' Moreover, in Mrs VB's

geography lesson, it proceeded with the children playing the main role spending most of the time working on their own and the teacher Mrs VB offering occasional guidance and assistance. The facilitative role of the teacher carries implicit cultural messages related to power and equality. Thus these power-related implicit messages appear to distinguish from those that seem to be explicit in the Chinese context. The power of the teacher in class can actually be seen as common in both England and China although the English teachers seem to be implicitly in control and their Chinese counterparts seem to be explicitly in control.

- Mode 2: Setting up specific activities

The teachers in England and China had some strategies in common in this mode, but in any lesson you would have different activities and sometimes the same activity may carry different cultural significance in the two different contexts. Similar strategies identified in this study include:

* listening to the children's voice
* calling for donations and contributions
* giving children responsibility
* assigning small projects

- *Listening to the children's voice* – In this particular aspect, it was found that the English teachers required the pupils' voice in making school rules or playground rules, and children in English School 1 were also asked to suggest how someone who threw bathroom towels on the floor rather than in the bin should be punished. 'The children said we think the good punishment for them is to go in and pick up all the towels and make sure they are in the bin and not around,' Mrs VB (E-School 1) reported in her interview, 'That was a punishment that came from the children themselves. It's really good like that.' Children' voice was not only heard within

school but also heard outside school. It was Mrs VB again who encouraged the children to write to and make phone calls to local companies inquiring about river pollution. Here then some cultural messages are transmitted implicitly through the two events. Personal accountability can be seen as implied in the punishment given to the child for littering bathroom towels, and public accountability seems to be contained in the active involvement of the children suggesting punishment for the good of the public interest in keeping a healthy and clean bathroom and also contained in the children's sense of citizenship in investigating river pollution for the benefit of the public wellbeing in terms of environmental protection.

The Chinese teachers mobilised the pupils to praise or criticise other children's performance or behaviour against the rules or code of daily conduct. Although the audience was different, the Chinese children were given opportunities to step up to the front of the classroom and speak or make comments on or judgements about others' behaviour. In the class meeting of Mrs SJ (C-School 1), it was not only the class monitor, members of the class committee and those group leaders who had their chance to speak in the front, but other class members also had their turns to speak. They were mobilised by Mrs SJ to disclose the misbehaviour of a neighbouring boy called LD (see Appendix 3.6). They co-operated with the teacher in helping LD to realise and correct his mistakes. Here then the teacher deliberately encouraged or expected activities which embodied a sense of collective responsibility.

- *Calling for donations* – The English pupils in Mrs DN's class (E-School 2) were asked to donate their toys to children in Honduras, which had been severely hit by hurricane, or to donate £1 to a Meningitis Research Foundation for a change to a non-school-uniform day in Mrs VB's class (E-School 1). The Chinese pupils, too, were

called to donate some pocket money to the flood-hit regions in Northern China but they (from Mrs YZ's class in C-School 4) were in the meantime encouraged to earn the money for donation through their own labour and effort by selling newspaper or selling collected wine bottles. Here the activity of donation was the same in the two countries, with perhaps similar values although perhaps different responsibilities. Two questions here need to be asked: What was the donation for? Where did the donation come from?

English children donated their pocket money for *sharing* with other people who lacked what they had. The Chinese children donated their pocket money for *helping* other people who were in need. This 'sharing' and 'help' emphasized altruism. The English children may have asked their parents for the money, but the Chinese children, though not all of them according to Mrs YZ (C-School 4) in her interview, earned the money with their own hands, selling newspaper or collected wine bottles. Again these activities ensured that the pupils enacted cultural values and received cultural messages.

- *Assigning small projects or particular responsibilities* – The English pupils were assigned creative hands-on projects to investigate river pollution (in Mrs VB's, E-School 1), to compare 1930s and 1990s (in Mrs DN's, E-School 2) or to explore the impact of World War II upon the family (in Mrs TB's, E-School 3). The Chinese pupils in Mrs SJ's class (C-School 1) were assigned a Diary Selection Project, keeping daily diaries using data or daily life materials and then developing the best piece of diary into a weekly essay. Here then the difference appeared to be that by carrying out the small projects the Chinese children were studying for the improvement of their academic performance and the real material from life was then

used to serve the purpose of study as part of knowledge. The English children, however, as it was indicated earlier, were encouraged to be interactive and to set up personal learning environments chosen by them. Mrs VB was in this way helping pupils socialise themselves in setting up contacts with the outside world.

- Mode 3: Using people as living examples

In this third mode, the teachers of both countries conveyed cultural values by making exemplary use of pupils, the teachers themselves and others from outside the school. Examples from the three groups of people included:

* pupil examples
* teacher examples
* outsider examples

- *Pupil examples* – 'Naming' appeared to be the most common method used to either praise or criticise pupils. Many such examples could be illustrated from both sides, but just to use a few here. A Chinese girl named ML in Mrs LJ's class (C-School 3) was praised for her spirit of collectivism, for she had won high points for the class in a school winter race, in which she tried too hard and spat some blood at the finish. On another occasion, two boys named DQ and YZJ were praised by Mrs YZ (C-School 4) for their prominent performance in clearing snow on the school playground. In her lesson Mrs SJ (C-School 1) criticised a boy named LD as one of those who did not pay much attention to subsidiary subjects and who did not hold the right attitude towards study. She also criticised a boy called ZY who was frequently late for school, stressing the importance of punctuality for school.

In England, children were also criticised or praised by name. A boy named OL in Mr HS's class (E-School 4) was criticised as a typical example for talking to others

during the assembly and was almost excluded from the Christmas choir. In one lesson, Mrs VB (E-School 1) praised one boy named SM for independently working on his task without making any demand on the teacher. It was also in the same lesson, Mrs VB warned one boy called DV who did not concentrate on his work but wasted his time and whose name she never saw appearing on the finished list on the board. In the interviews with Mrs VB and Mrs TB (E-School 3) two boys were reported to be encouraged to speak in front of the class about their difficult family situations, and they won understanding, respect and sympathy of other children. These two boys were examples that were used to morally educate pupils by citing children's own experiences.

- *Teacher examples* – During the observed fieldwork, the teachers in both countries played the role of model and set the pupils good examples in all sorts of aspects. One of the Chinese teachers, Mrs YZ (C-School 4) and Mrs LD (C-School 2) were seen working hard together with the children clearing snow on the playground (see Photo 1-8). The Chinese teacher Mrs SJ (C-School 1) in her class meeting frankly criticised herself saying 'I still think I failed', because some pupils of her class were found to be only fond of the subject that Mrs SJ taught but not other subsidiary subjects, and as a class teacher she felt herself responsible for this. Through this example, Mrs SJ reminded her pupils of responsibility by modelling it herself. Mrs SJ was very strict with herself. She considered this phenomenon as her failure in managing the class and this was something she felt responsible for. Her self-criticism may have been a surprise to the class, especially to those really concerned in this matter. This was an educative strategy – the action itself, claiming responsibility for this problem as a class teacher, indicates that she is a class teacher with a strong sense of responsibility,

and it also reminds the children where their position is and how much responsibility they should hold for this. Thus through her modelling this value, she is sending implicit value messages to the pupils.

In England, one teacher, Mrs DN (E-School 2), talked about taking care of two girls whose parents had been divorced and she helped them in many ways through the difficult period of time. 'I was more concerned with AM and CL. I ended up taking CL up to the Church because she was supposed to go the church but she didn't want to go. So life is very difficult for them...', Mrs DN reported. Another teacher, Mr HS (E-School 4), apologised to a boy in front of the class, who was wrongly criticised for something that the teacher believed he did. 'Oh, I am sorry. I apologise. I was wrong. I was just making an assumption.' Mr HS said, and then he turned to the whole class, 'I'll say it again. I was wrong. I apologise.' Here then one could suggest that the use of 'living examples' helps pupils to understand that values are enacted and are not just abstract 'rules'.

In terms of out-of-school activities, teachers also modelled exemplary behaviour but in different ways. The English teachers seemed to value non-academic as well as academic activities. These English teachers appeared committed to and completely involved in activities such as Christmas celebration parties: leading in teaching songs, playing the musical instruments, conducting the choir, making costumes, organising the parties, etc. Through this modelling by the teachers, children were expected to learn to take more responsibility, make contributions to the community and become a useful individual to the society.

By contrast, the Chinese teachers did not get themselves involved in the activities as much as their English counterparts did, but they would often put themselves in the dominant position and mobilise the children in other sorts of ways. For the New Year's Day celebration party for example, the Chinese teachers did not intervene in any of the activities but left everything to the children themselves, from rehearsing performances to decorating the venue (the classroom itself), to purchasing food and drinks and to finally organising the parties and performing. Here then teachers modelled the value of interdependence showing that even though they were 'dominant' in academic matters, in other areas pupils needed to assume responsibility. The children indeed proved their abilities by holding the parties successfully, which testifies to the value of independence being reinforced in the collectivism context.

- *Outsider examples* – This was a different channel through which the children learned about cultural values. Here cultural values were transmitted by people and through events outside the schools. One English school (School 4) invited a priest into school who taught the children the moral value of deceptive external appearances by showing a box (empty) of chocolates and a piece of blu-tack (later shown stuffed with a £20 note). When all the children put up their hands to choose the box of chocolates, he told them not to judge people by their appearance.

Another school (E-School 1) invited a visitor from a Meningitis Research Foundation who gave a lecture on meningitis at the school assembly. Different from the one of inviting a priest who was explicitly talking about values, this event may have been expected to deliver to the children more of values from the class teacher or even the activity itself than from the outsider who gave the speech. Here Mr VB (E-School 1), was on the one hand, trying to raise the children's awareness of the disease and stress

the importance of health; on the other hand, the teacher was modelling the values of social awareness and a sense of responsibility that were embodied in the activity itself. Here then it can be seen that teachers can take advantage of other people, outsiders for instance, giving explicit or implicit information. However, the 'outside person' does not have to be an actual presence sometimes. In her lesson, as the children had been working on the project involving writing letters and making phone calls to the outside, Mrs VB used a fictitious example of a moral phenomenon by asking the class to imagine the situation where people did not reply to your letters, highlighting the value of respect for others.

Unlike their English counterparts, the Chinese teachers did not invite outsiders to the school during the time of the fieldwork and they, as a matter of fact, do not normally do so. However, teachers in China may sometimes take a different approach to enhance cultural values in this respect: values from insiders going out, instead of from outsiders coming in. Pupils were sent out and represented the school in various competitions or contests. In her class meeting, Mrs SJ (C-School 1) praised those pupils who participated in art competitions outside school and won awards. The teacher expressed her appreciation for these achievements explicitly and praised those children for having brought credit to the class and winning honour for the school. Here then the cultural messages of collectivism and responsibility were embodied in events as such that provided opportunities of children representing the school collective, were experienced by those children who went out as insiders.

This part of the chapter has discussed and compared to some extent the cultural transmission in the two countries in terms of transmission strategies and methods within the framework of three modes. It has been found that the teachers in the two

countries share a lot in common in terms of the awareness of using strategies and methods in cultural transmission while differences are also many in terms of varying methods used to emphasise the same value.

4.4 Summary

In respect of the four value themes identified in each country, an analysis of the national curricula and school prospectuses, the teacher interviews and classroom observations as well as some field notes, has been systematically carried out in this chapter. The detailed analysis of the data has produced a global picture of cultural values that are reflected in the eight teachers' interviews and revealed in the process of their classroom practice. Chapter V next looks at the issues that emerged from the comparison and discusses how the comparison has helped in the process of the data analysis as presented in this chapter.

CHAPTER V

ISSUES EMERGING FROM THE COMPARISON

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5. 0 Introduction

In Chapter IV I analysed the data that was gathered in the two countries. In the process of the analysis, there were many significant findings arising as a result of the methodology that was adopted in the research. By examining the value of the comparative approach and looking into how it was helpful in producing these findings, this chapter discusses issues that emerged from the comparisons made in this research.

5.1 The value of comparison

Comparing is one of the most basic of conscious human activities. In the more specific context of education it is important to distinguish the comparing, importing and exporting of ideas (Alexander, 2000:26). Patricia Broadfoot (1999) subdivides activities in comparative education into five categories:

- Studies which provide detailed empirical documentation of educational Phenomena in a particular, typically national, setting;
- Studies which provide the above category but which are contextualised in terms of the broader international debates, theoretical framework and empirical accounts of the issues;
- Studies which are designed as explicitly comparative, based on a coherent rationale for their selection in order to illuminate 'constants and contexts';
- Studies in which the contexts being compared are themselves theorised as part of wider social science debates on, for example, the relationships of system and action, power and control, culture and the creation of meaning;
- Studies which use comparative research to inform theory.

This research falls into the third category. This section here looks at how both intracultural and intercultural comparisons made at various levels are useful in understanding both the teachers' classroom practice as the core of the research and the

related contextual knowledge in the two countries ranging from the education systems, the curricula, the rules in effect in schools and the background of the eight teachers as well as the cultural themes identified previously.

5.1.1 Understanding of the education systems

As we saw in Chapter One, the years since the 1940s have broadly speaking seen the English education system move from individuality-oriented decentralisation toward more uniformity-inclined centralisation while the Chinese education system is in transition from uniformity-oriented centralisation to locality-characterised decentralisation. This reform in each country, however, cannot be seen as leading the education system to each other's old model, given that the formation or reformation of any education system relates to the needs of a specific social system.

The English education system has become more centralised due to the introduction of the National Curriculum in 1988, and the Chinese education system seems to have become decentralised because of the responsibility for basic education provision having been shifted from the Central Government to the local governments. However, although this is the outward appearance of the systems, closer analysis of the contexts in the light of the data from this research may reveal a different scenario, i.e. the English education system remaining to some extent decentralised with some of the characteristics of centralisation, and the Chinese education system remaining to some extent centralised with some of the characteristics of decentralisation. Although there are strong guidelines from the National Curriculum in England, which may be perceived as 'intervening into the teachers' domain on the basis of a particular theory of how children best learn numeracy and literacy and allows little room for

professional judgement or contextual factors to be taken into account' (Muschamp, Jamieson and Lauder, 1999), schools and teachers may still enjoy a high degree of autonomy in terms of what to teach, when to teach, how to teach and how much to teach, as was seen from the classroom data.

In the Chinese context, teachers are given, and are supposed to use along with the unified curriculum, the unified syllabuses, textbooks, teachers' books, teaching methods, teaching hours for each subject, supplementary teaching materials and standard keys to exercises. In the four Chinese schools I observed these practices followed. Thus in practice it appears from the sample of schools used that much of the old pattern persists in both countries. The unified national curriculum in China remains the important symbol of centralisation and, compared with England, more than a guideline for the practice of teaching in primary and secondary schools.

5.1.2 Understanding of the school rules

It became clear from this small-scale study that just as they have the autonomy to organise their own school curricula, English schools also make their own school rules. Schools may decide to work out a set of rules or prefer to operate as a 'no [official] rule' school (E-School 1). The school rules are backed up by clearly understood rewards and sanctions. By contrast, Chinese schools use the nationwide unified *Rules for Primary Pupils* and *Code of Daily Conduct for Primary Pupils* [There are separate sets of Rules and Code for secondary students] formulated by the Ministry of Education, apart from the centralised national curriculum. While the English schools enjoy autonomy in making their own school rules even with the involvement of children, the Chinese schools are given in their hands the *Rules* and *Code* in a variety

of forms: posters, pictures, hanging charts, comic strips, educational video serials, slides, etc. and this was evident in the schools visited.

As well as comparing the overall differences between the English and Chinese school systems, it is helpful to look at intracultural differences between schools although there was some homogeneity in the types of school. One aspect of diversity of practice between schools can be illustrated by looking at their different rule systems. As the English schools formulate their rules according to their own particular circumstances, it is inevitable that rules in one school differ from those in another. Among the four schools visited in the research, there seemed to be a difference in the number and visibility of the rules between the two urban schools (Schools 3 and School 4) and the two rural (Schools 1 and School 2). School 4 had the most rules. They had 9 Golden Rules posted in front of the office, in the foyer and in the school hall (see Photo1-1). In addition, every class had particular playground rules, which the children had a hand in formulating. School 3 had a set of 6 dining hall rules posted on the hall door. The two rural schools had fewer and less visible rules. A set of 5 rules of School 2 was made with the children at the beginning of each year and became the school code; School 1 stood out as a 'no rule' school (meaning no official rules) and the school maintained that 'by being insistent on good manners and consideration for others, children quickly become aware of their responsibilities to themselves and others' (E-School 1 Prospectus, 1998).

In terms of content, there is some difference and similarity in the emphasis of the sets of rules in the different schools within England and China. 'Concern for other people', or 'consideration for others' noted in the prospectus of English School 1, was a common feature of required social behaviour of all the English schools, which was

embedded in some key terms formed in school documentation (see Table 5.1 below) including *gentle, helpful, friendly, kind, polite, honest, well-behaved, well-mannered, work hard, and look after property*. These could be said to characterise the English school rules, i.e. an emphasis on individual personal responsibilities in building up harmonious interpersonal relationships so as to create a happy and socially friendly learning environment for everyone. However as this was a small-scale piece of research, it is not really possible to generalise completely from what has been found here.

By comparison, the Chinese school rules explicitly emphasise hard work and discipline, reflected in some key terms (see Table 5.1) of *love of others* (outside school), *industriousness - mental/physical, punctuality, attentiveness, asceticism, respect/politeness, care of property, honesty, etc.* covering a wide range of aspects from politics to study, labour, health and to daily life at school, and from self to others and to the collective. The ten highly condensed rules of the national codes of behaviour (see Appendix 6.5) reflect the principles of Chinese education – cultivating pupils who will be constructers of and successors to the cause of socialism, who should be well developed morally, intellectually, physically, aesthetically and in physical labour.

Table 5.1: *Key terms of values in school rules in England and China*

England (Social behaviour)		**China** (Hard work, discipline)	
Key terms	*School No.*	*Key terms*	*All 4 schools*
Friendly	2	Asceticism	√
Look after property	2	Attentiveness	√
Polite	2, 3, 4	Care of property	√
Kind	2, 4	Honesty	√
Well-behaved	3	Hygiene	√
Well-mannered	3	Industriousness	√
Gentle	4	Love of others	√
Helpful	4	Politeness	√
Honest	4	Punctuality	√
Work hard	4	Respect	√

It can thus be seen from this comparative analysis, that there was some internal coherence within both the English and the Chinese schools. The school rules that were implemented in the English schools were all formulated by each of the schools themselves (although the degree of rule visibility varied), and promoted common values. The four Chinese schools used the same rules, a set of national unified primary school rules and also all four schools similarly made the rules visible and available by posting them on the classroom wall.

5.1.3 Understanding of the teaching contexts: schools and teachers

School rules may be used for disciplinary functions and they may also have significant impact on the cultural values that are mediated by teachers or required by schools, and that may make differences between countries, schools and individual teachers. The following section will look at how similar or different cultural values were reflected in the teaching contexts in the two countries.

- Schools

Schools as the contexts for cultural transmission, both academic and social, will affect the teaching of values to some extent. All the four schools in England were church schools, three being Church of England schools and the other one, School 3, a Roman Catholic school. By contrast, there was no equivalent of a church school in China involved in this research and all the four were state schools and classes observed were all Year 6s. The size of the schools in England ranged from 60 (School 2) to 120 pupils (School 4) in England, but from 550 (School 4) to 1,300 (School 2) in China, with many more children in urban schools than in rural ones in both cases. In the two rural English schools, pupils were homogeneously white British and so were the staff members, whereas in the two urban schools the majority of the pupil body were from the mainstream culture background with a few from other ethnic groups though all staff were white. In this sample then there were already some similarities between the schools.

In three of the four Chinese schools, two urban and one rural, the vast majority of the pupils came from the main stream culture, the Han families (the major Chinese nationality making up more than 95% of the Chinese population), with some from local minority nationality background. The other school, School 3, located in a community where most of the residents were the Hui inhabitants, had the majority of the children at the school from the Hui families. The teachers in this school followed a prescribed set of pedagogies, school rules and teaching materials, which may overrule all these differences.

- Classes

In England, Mrs VB (E-School 1, rural) had a class of 25 pupils, a mixture of 12 Year 6s and others Year 5s, all white British. In Mrs DN's class (E-School 2, rural), there were 27 children mixed with 11 Year 6s and the rest Year 5s, and again all white British (Both these were rural schools). In Mrs TB's class of 31 children of Year 6 only (E-School 3, urban), the majority were local English children but there was also one pupil from Italy, one from Poland, one from Russia, one from Ukraine, one from France and one from the Caribbean; and in Mr HS's class (E-School 4, urban), most of the 27 children were white British, and there were also 3 children from the Caribbean, African and Indian backgrounds.

The cultural homogeneity in the two rural classes perhaps made the transmission of values less complicated than it was in the two urban classes, where you may have cultural conflicts or racial discrimination as one of the boys in Mrs TB's class (E-School 3) experienced when he and his mother were called 'Paki' while walking on the street. In the rural schools apart from the fact that none of the children in the class and even in the whole school came from any ethnic groups, the children, according to Mrs DN (E-School 2), had never seen any foreigners before seeing me as a Chinese person in the school. There may of course have been individual differences between pupils' family backgrounds but there were considerable ethnic cultural similarities between teachers and children in the English classrooms.

In comparison with the English teachers, the Chinese teachers had much larger class sizes. Mrs LJ (C-School 3, rural) had 39 pupils, of whom two thirds belonged to a local minority nationality, the Hui, and the rest included two Kazakh children and

eleven Han children. Mrs YZ's class (C-School 4, rural) had 38 children including one from a Mongolian family and five from the Hui nationality. Compared with urban school classes, these rural school classes were smaller but more mixed and these two schools were typical of many rural schools. The dense urban population may explain the phenomenon of larger class sizes in urban schools, and the more mixed rural classes may well be due to the shortage of large numbers of ethnic children for setting up one or more discrete schools such as those in the urban areas. Mrs SJ (C-School 1, urban) has a class of 56 pupils, among whom four children were from ethnic groups, one from a Uyghur family (Islam), one from a Man family and two from the Hui nationality (Islam). In Mrs LD's class of 70 pupils (C-School 2, urban), the largest class of the four Chinese schools, seven children were from ethnic backgrounds, namely, the Uyghur, the Hui and the Kazakh (Islam). A class size as large as this is not often seen in China, although a class size of 50 or 60 children is quite common, which is twice as large as most classes in England.

5.1.4 Understanding of the physical settings

In the previous section I looked at the teaching contexts of schools and teachers. Here in this section there is a brief introduction to the physical teaching settings including the school, classroom arrangement, ways of teaching and the teachers.

- The school

We have seen that the class sizes make a sharp contrast between the two cultural settings. The English and Chinese environments also differed. The English classrooms were within single-storey houses while the Chinese classrooms were all part of multi-storey school buildings. This means that in England with the small class size and the

small scale of the school it may be feasible for the class teacher to pay special attention to each individual so as to meet the needs of every child in the class, and even for the headteacher to get to know and care for every single child in the school. Thus this may help effectively implement and meet the requirements of the National Curriculum, and provide a fundamental prerequisite for fostering individuality of children.

In China, however, the large size of class and the large scale of school may create the right environment for the desired collectivism and the class teacher and the headteacher could treat the pupils in one class or in the school as a whole, but obviously a class teacher or headteacher would not physically be able to pay attention to each individual. Therefore from the perspective of the class or school sizes in England and China, the physical settings, to some extent, determines the possibility and feasibility of the value of individuality in England and that of collectivism in China.

- Classroom arrangement

As for the seating arrangement in the classroom in general, there is an essential difference between the schools observed in England and China. Desks in all the four English classrooms were arranged in small groups (see Photo 1-10) or in a horseshoe format (see Photo 1-9) and children were grouped in accordance with their proficiency levels and standards. This arrangement allows for flexibility in the teacher's classroom management, making any class activities easy to run and easy to control, for example, individual work, pair work, group work or whole class teaching activities. This may impact on the relationship in general between the teacher and the

pupils, echoing Alexander's finding of a degree of optionality and flexibility in English primary classrooms (Alexander, 2000).

In the Chinese classroom seating plan, desks were traditionally arranged in rows and columns (see Photo 1-10). As a child, a secondary student and a university student, I received years of education in a classroom environment with just such a seating arrangement. It may be that such an arrangement relates to tradition rather than being solely due to limited resources and conditions. The class teacher arranges the seats, two at one desk normally according to the pupils' height, taller children in the furthest seats from the blackboard, and short children in the seats closer to the board. In deciding the seating plan, teachers usually take view of the blackboard as the first priority, audibility as the second, but academic performance may sometimes prevail as a criterion. Thus if a child falls behind in studies, even if s/he is big and tall, s/he may be placed at the front.

This type of classroom arrangement may not only facilitate certain kinds of teaching and allow for certain values to be promoted, but also can be seen as embodying cultural values itself. For example, the English group arrangements may embody the value of equality and allow more chance for individuality; and the Chinese classroom arrangements can be seen as a distinguishing hierarchy from the perspective of individuals, including children's physical sizes, good behaviour, and of course health conditions; on the other hand, the Chinese classroom arrangements can be seen as embodying the value of collectivism from the perspective of the pupil cohort because all children are considered as a whole and individual cases are only considered under the circumstances of overall class arrangements.

It can be seen then that numbers of children in a room will affect what is feasible and may reinforce individualism or collectivism. It may also be that the physical orderliness (in China) or flexibility (in England) in itself carries an implicit cultural value absorbed by the pupils. In School 2 in China there was a particular case of overcrowding. The classroom was actually only big enough for seating 50 children as a normal size with three columns of desks and one desk for two children. At the time of my visits there were four columns of desks to accommodate 70 pupils (see Photo 1-10 and 1-11), two columns in the middle with one 30cm wide aisle on each side; the front row desks were about 1.2m away from the blackboard; the children at the back row desks had to sit against the wall; the sitting space available was so limited that it only allowed the children to manage to squeeze themselves down through the gap between the desks and their benches and when a child tried to stand up to answer a question, s/he could only lean forward as a posture of standing up. The classroom was jammed and crowded to such an extent that not a single small desk could be in any way squeezed in anywhere in the room. In this case it was absolutely impossible to take special care of individuals due to the large size of the class and the limited time available for each pupil. Collectivism rather than individualism was particularly valued in the teaching of this class teacher. Teachers gave lessons standing by the blackboard most of the time and usually followed the method of whole class teaching. Imagine in a class of this many pupils the disadvantages of those who sit at the back: they are not in a position to hear the teacher clearly, they cannot see the teacher and blackboard well because of the distance, their view is blocked by many others sitting in front, and they receive much less attention from the teacher, if not neglected, and have less chance to answer questions or to demonstrate work on the blackboard.

This big-sized class issue may bring us back to the class meeting system and help further understand why in China a weekly class meeting focusing on disciplinary administration is conventional and essential. When children sit in a crowded classroom like this, a cooperative and unified disciplined structure is essential. In terms of the teaching techniques, child-centred teaching, group work, role play, or individual tutorials, etc. all seem impossible. Alexander (2000) confirms this in his *Five Cultures* and he cites Stevenson and Stigler (1992) as noting that collectivism orientation is much more appropriate to the context of a crowded classroom. With this need for discipline, there is perhaps a further need for reinforcement, which explains the role of the class meeting.

- Ways of teaching

In their classroom environment, the Chinese teachers in all four schools all provided whole class teaching although sometimes there was also individual work, but focusing on the same material. With a class of this size, it would be physically almost impossible for a teacher to think of reinforcing the value of individualism and teaching to meet individual needs.

By contrast, the English teachers mostly treated each child as a unique individual and helped her/him to reach a particular goal of achievement. Children in all four schools were divided into several groups and different tasks were given accordingly. Particularly with classes mixed with Year 6 and Year 5 children (Schools 1 and 2), both the teachers appeared to teach in a way to meet the individual needs of the different groups. Thus in this context the seating, to some extent, determined the methodology in teaching, was also likely to affect the implementation of cultural

reinforcement, and helped to reinforce the values of individuality and collectivity respectively in the two different contexts.

In the process of cultural transmission, teachers in England and China can be seen from a comparative point of view, as sharing quite a lot in common in the awareness of applying methods or strategies although, unsurprisingly, different activities were set up and varying examples were used. On the other hand, Chinese teachers do seem to be more explicit than implicit in transmitting cultural values, for example, in class meetings. English teachers seem to be more implicit. However, both English teachers and Chinese teachers are explicit about cultural values in terms of praising or criticising children.

Teachers on both sides often seem to implicitly model values. For example, the English teacher Mr HS (E-School 4) apologised to a boy he wrongly criticised without explicitly expressing the value of 'respect for others'; Chinese teacher Mrs SJ (C-School 1) suggested she failed as a class teacher to set the children a model of responsibility. On some occasions the transmission seems to be less explicit in England than in China. For example, we have seen that school rules were not often displayed (only E-School 4 with a few rules). By contrast, in all Chinese schools cultural messages are made visible and easy to access with Rules and Code displayed on classroom walls, posters or slogans with regard to study and discipline on walls both inside and outside the classrooms.

School rules in China seem to be always explicitly foregrounded, and there are also ways of Chinese teachers implicitly reinforcing cultural values as we have already seen. This can be seen in the practice of specifically naming individual children and

their offences in a public way in class meetings. In England, the business of naming and identifying offences is part of the practice of getting on with the lesson. In China, however, the offences (or good points) themselves become the focus. In Mrs YZ's (C-School 4) class meeting, since some of the group leaders did not give any names of those children who did not behave well over the previous week, she asked for those names, 'We should clarify who didn't do well or did something wrong...and we should point these out and help them realise where they are right and where they are wrong.' Here she might be considered inconsistent between what she said in the class meeting and what she reported in the interview, where she stated, 'I rarely name somebody in front of the class.' But as a matter of fact, a class meeting is a different occasion from a normal lesson, where a teacher may be able to avoid naming someone who does not behave in a lesson. A class meeting is a specific occasion where names need to be mentioned for either praise or criticism, otherwise, the child may not know where s/he was right and where s/he was wrong. However, there may be deeper cultural practices at work here that an individual teacher may not be aware of but which when classroom practices across countries are compared, become evident.

A further point to consider is the question of contested or accepted rules. Alexander (2000), in his overview of cultural and pedagogical practices in several countries, suggests that the existence of explicit rules may suggest a need for those rules. In other words, where rules are understood or not contested, there is no need for emphasis. Of course Alexander's point only seems to apply in western contexts (he is thinking of England, or Michigan in the US). Alexander himself is from a western English speaking context and is making this assumption on his understanding of it implicit and explicit. It is tempting then to see this school as confirming Alexander's

hypothesis. English School 4, an urban school, had the most rules, and the OFSTED inspection team once described some children's behaviour in this school as 'boisterous' (see Appendix 6.4.1). In the English rural schools, operating in smaller rural communities, perhaps there are closer shared understandings. For example, School 1, one rural school, did not have any specific explicit rules. However, in oriental contexts, e.g. a Chinese context, we could challenge the validity of Alexander's ideas. As discussed previously, Chinese schools all have the unified rules and code of daily conduct for pupils across the country, and all have them displayed on the walls of the classroom. It cannot be said that Chinese schools need explicit rules because of poor discipline. Rather, this explicitness of rules itself is in fact already part of Chinese culture because it is not just reflected in schools but in all walks of life.

With this comparison, it can be said that a school with or without rules may be considered culturally bound. In terms of this research, explicitness can be seen as a cultural value orientation in the Chinese context, whereas Alexander's notion of 'need', which itself reflects a cultural value of world outlook, implies the English individuality – each individual school is different: some may need to be explicit and others may need to be implicit about rules, although this research has found the English schools characteristic of implicitness.

5.1.5 Understanding of social values and academic values – integration versus separation

Generally speaking the Chinese teachers are more explicit than their English counterparts in transmitting cultural values. It is important here to clarify that the

content of the cultural values that are transmitted by teachers seems to include both social values and academic values. However, due to the restriction of the short period of time available for this research, and most importantly, because of the teachers' explicit emphasis on social values either in their interviews or in their teaching and especially in those more significant social-value related incidents or events observed, this research concentrates particularly on social values in order to undertake a more focused, detailed and in-depth investigation of the teachers' classroom practice.

It is interesting to discover that the two main areas of values, namely, social values and academic values, are integrated in the teaching in England whilst these two parts are separated in the teaching in China. Take English teacher Mrs VB's lesson of geography (see Table 5.2) for example, and also a Chinese lesson (see Table 5.3) and a class meeting (see Table 5.4) for intra- and inter-comparison (see Appendices 3.1, 7.1 and 3.6 for the whole transcripts).

Table 5.2: *Values identified in a lesson of geography assessment by Mrs VB, England*

Teacher expressions	Social values	Academic Valu
But we do a draft copy first.		Standard
When we rewrite it, it should be *neat* and *tidy*.		Quality
It should come out with punctuation and capital letters.		Knowledge
Focus on what you are writing.		Skill
Vern, not ven. It's ern *[pronunciation]*		Accuracy
Pollution	Responsibility	
A lesson at the Water Treatment Works	Awareness of environment protection	Knowledge
Can you give me a chance, please?	Respect	
Excuse me, you are being rude!	Politeness	
Pay attention.		Attentiveness
Teachers will not tolerate you interrupting a lesson. I'm not going to put up with it any more!	Respect	
Excuse me, teachers correct it, not students, you know?	Authority	
'Excuse me, Mr M.., are you the gentleman who…'	Skill, politeness	Knowledge
ST, can you do that for me, please?	Politeness	
Speak slowly and clearly, and be polite.	Skill, politeness	

TM, if you've got to cope with something, it's much better you came to me…instead of going in and disrupting everybody else in the classroom.	Cooperation, relationships, discipline	
Have you got a difficulty?	Help	Solution
If people don't reply to your letter, do you think it is rude? At least, you may say 'I'm sorry that I can't help, but thank you for your letter…	Politeness, Code of conduct	Knowledge
Well, you're doing nothing at the moment, just ruining all our envelopes. It's great expense to school.	Thrift	
DV, I noticed that your name is never up there. If you take three weeks to do it, then you do it. So the choice is yours.		Achievement
This boy has a very bad habit of sitting on a two-legged chair.	Care for public property	
I have just had somebody's envelope to show you. Where should he be doing it? On the left-hand side. Because we need space for the stamp to go there. That's too much in the middle, all right?		Knowledge, skill
Have you all noticed how well SM is managing now without his helper here? He's not making any demand on the teacher. Very good! Even Mrs G now comes in and says how well he's doing now.	Independence,	Progress
Can we stop a minute, children? Jun wants to know why you all are writing letters. Would you like to explain to Jun what we've been doing? Can you all stop please and listen?	Respect, confidence	Experience
No. Explain to Jun why you wrote letters.	Help	Relevance, skill
And now, there is pollution in the river. So the children have written letters in their geography.	Responsibility	Skill, knowledge

Table 5.2 shows teacher expressions integrating social values and academic values, of which some carry social values, some carry academic values, and others carry both social and academic values. These teacher expressions demonstrate that the social values and academic values are integrated, intersected and interwoven through the whole process of teaching in the English classroom practice. By contrast, the Chinese lesson by Mrs SJ can be seen as academic-value oriented whilst the other part of cultural values, the social values seem to be mainly embodied in the class meeting. Thus the Chinese classroom practice appears to basically separate social values and academic values, which is also the reason why I chose class meetings observed in China as the main data source instead of other lessons as such.

Table 5.3: *Values identified in a Chinese lesson by Mrs SJ, China*

Teacher expressions	Social values	Academic values
Who'd like to tell us something about this article?		Knowledge
We will find out which of them has made an accurate comment		Accuracy (1)
Now, what is your first impression?		Understanding (1)
Now find this line in the text. We'll see who is the first.		Efficiency (1), speed (1)
Now let's read it once in unison.	Co-operation (1)	Familiarisation (1)
Now how to divide this text and what their gist are.		Understanding (2)
This does help make a more accurate division of the sections.		Accuracy (2)
Then in what order is the article written? This is very important.		Skill
Please everybody read it quickly first and find out…		Efficiency (2), speed (2)
Underline the words, phrases or sentences that describe his appearance and discuss in groups.		Exchange of ideas
Then what shows Runtu's bravery and capability?	Bravery, ability	Understanding (3)
Next, we are going to read the text with emotion and try to get the feeling of them.		Understanding (4)
Finally let's read the text in unison again.	Co-operation (2)	Familiarisation (2)

In this lesson of Chinese, Table 5.3 shows the focus of academic values transmitted by Mrs SJ. Most of the values identified are academic values with a few academic values that also carry social values. In addition, during the lesson, Mrs SJ frequently encouraged the pupils by praising them for good answers with 'Good' or 'Very good' or 'Well-done' for 13 times, plus 3 complimentary statements. Nevertheless, social values such as politeness, appear to have been reflected in Mrs SJ's saying 'Sit down, please' for 3 times to pupils who stood to answer questions, and differentiation seems to have been emphasised by Mrs SJ asking the children for different opinions or answers on 5 occasions during the lesson.

Table 5.4: *Values identified in a class meeting by Mrs SJ, China*

Teacher expressions	Social values	Academic values
In the first group, who were criticised by name (for not observing discipline)?	Rule conformity	
When you sat at the back, you didn't get on well with people around you and now in the front, you are the same.	Interpersonal relationship	
Besides, today I hear you got 25 marks in the Music exam, the first from the bottom in the whole Year 6		Achievement
This is an issue of incorrect attitude towards study.		Attitude
You all behave very well in my Chinese Language lesson, but I still think I failed.	Responsibility	
Some of you in this class are really gifted in arts and many times on many occasions they participated in competitions in and outside the school, bringing credit to the class and winning honour for the school.	Contribution, Reputation	
I hope you all develop in an all-round way.	Achievement	
I hope when we are in a class meeting in the future, we in all cases directly point out the names of those people so that we can know what's what and who's who.	Accountability,	
Today, ML made a more thorough summary with the work tidiness commented on. Those praised on work tidiness, please stand up. I have been laying emphasis on neat and tidy writing of your work. Your handwriting represents yourself. Your handwriting tells if you are a person who works conscientiously, seriously, cleanly, tidily and hygienically.	Effort, Conscientiousness	Quality of work
You have been twice late for school over the last few days.	Accountability	punctuality
your performance just remains unchanged and you haven't made any progress.	Progress	Progress
I move them to front row seats…I just intend to help and care for them.	Help, care	
The rest of the class all supported me with an under-standing, made full allowances for their situation in study.	Support, Understanding	
I appreciate this spirit of mutual help, care and understanding. Those short children at the back, please know that I moved you to the back because I trust you and I always have confidence in you.	Care for and help others, Trust	
I thank you for your understanding and support.	Appreciation	
For the sake of the collective interest and other people's benefits, you have unselfishly given your own up. That is the moral spirit and fine qualities that should be highly praised and encouraged.	Altruism, Collectivism	

In this class meeting, there are many teacher expressions that are identified as transmitting cultural values, which carry social values and a few which overlap social values with an academic value as shown in Table 5.4. The intra-national comparison between one lesson of Chinese and one class meeting shows that there is an obvious separation of social values and academic values between a lesson of Chinese and a

class meeting while Table 5.2 shows an integration of social values and academic values transmitted in the English classroom practice. This highlights the feature of the transmission of cultural values which has particularly emerged in carrying out a piece of comparative research. Thus it is the comparative approach that has made conspicuous the feature of integration of social and academic values in England and that of separation of social and academic values in China. Without the intercultural comparison, the distinction between *integration* and *separation* may have not even been thought of as one significant difference between England and China. Also studying the separateness of values in China has usefully highlighted on a deeper-level common values that were transferred from lessons to class meetings such as accuracy, mastery, hierarchisation, etc.

Take for example commonalities of some other values that have emerged from having separated out the Chinese lessons and class meetings. There are echoes of ideas of *mastery* and *accuracy* cropping up in both the lessons and the class meetings although they are not explicitly linked and spoken about as in the English classrooms. Mrs SJ (C-School 1), for instance, required in her lesson *accurate* answers to her question to the class saying 'We will find out which of them has made an accurate comment after we study the text.' The value of *mastery* was also emphasised in the lesson, where Mrs SJ said to the class: 'This time, you've all done a much better job in dividing the sections. Why is it so? Is there any knack of doing it?' Referring to the class meeting, the ideas of accuracy and mastery seem to be both implied in the teacher expressions. For instance, Mrs SJ criticised some children who did not take subsidiary subjects seriously saying 'Pay equal attention. (Major subjects and subsidiary subjects are) equally important...Whatever a subject it is, as long as it is designed for this class, we should get down to it seriously and treat it seriously', hoping the children could

master knowledge of all subjects in order to 'develop in an all-round way'. In commenting on the reports of the group leaders and subject representatives, Mrs SJ emphasised the importance of naming, which implied the idea of accuracy: '(If not named,) you wouldn't be aware that it was directed at you. I hope when we are in a class meeting, we in all cases directly point out the names of those people so that we can know what's what and who's who.'

- Teachers

The teachers themselves in the two countries can be seen as similar in some ways although each of course had his/her own individual personality. The eight teachers chosen for this study were all class teachers, mostly female (7 out of 8) and mature and experienced in teaching. The four English teachers were all white British, three of whom were female. One female teacher, Mrs TB (E-School 1) was in her thirties with an experience of 6 years in teaching and other three were in their forties, all with more than ten years' experience in their teaching career. The four Chinese teachers were all female and in their thirties with more than eight years' teaching experience. Three of them were the Han Chinese and the other one, Mrs LJ (C-School 3) was the Hui Chinese, a Muslim, one of the local minority nationalities. There were similarities here then in terms of years of experience and age.

In the interview with a Chinese teacher, Mrs LD (C-School 2), she impressed me with a strong sense of duty, and explicitly expressed her personal responsibilities in teaching. 'I must do the job well and try my best. It is my responsibility to teach the children well,' she remarked. 'Although day in and day out, you work so hard, at the end of the day you walk home exhausted...However hard, I will try my best to teach them well.' The interviews with the English teachers, however, revealed that the

English teachers were supportive to their pupils in the aspects from school life to family life. Take Mrs VB (E-School 1) for example. She used the word 'support' repeatedly in her interview, e.g. 'I'd like to support, particularly as we have a child in school, who's made deaf by this disease,' when she referred to research in meningitis and helped with fundraising; 'We do try to support the parents' financially in order that 'the children do not miss the trip, which the parents could not afford to pay for; and 'She was comforted by the support from us' Mrs VB said when she referred to a girl in her class who lost her father in a tragic accident. Thus it can be said that Mrs VB supported children in different ways, physically, personally and morally. The difference emerging from the comparison here is that there was a feature of physicality in the Chinese teachers' view of duty and responsibility, and they worked hard to teach the children well; in the meantime, this viewpoint also revealed that the Chinese teachers considered the children's learning all the teachers' responsibility and expressions such as 'I can't fail them' by Mrs LD (C-School 2) emphasised the leading position of the teacher rather than the children's subjective initiative and the value of autonomy. By contrast, the English teachers placed themselves in a supportive position and provided the children with necessary assistance, leaving space for the children to play the leading role and stressing the implicit value of individuality and self-reliance.

On the other hand, the teachers in this research all played an important role in their schools in broad terms. Most of them were essential figures of their schools in terms of social responsibilities. Among the English teachers, Mrs VB (E-School 1) also had academic and administrative responsibilities as the headteacher (She has a male assistant teacher with 30 years' teaching experience who worked part-time taking part of her responsibility of the teaching of English and Mathematics lessons); Mr HS (E-

School 4) was Deputy Headteacher; both Mrs TB (E-School 3) and Mr HS were actively involved in music, handicrafts, and organising the school Christmas parties, playing the main role in teaching songs, conducting the choir, playing the piano, making costumes, doing makeup, and organising the whole school rehearsal.

The Chinese teachers, like their English counterparts, held important positions in academic terms – Mrs SJ (C-School 1) and Mrs LD (C-School 2), the two urban teachers, held the post of Team Leader of Chinese Teaching; Mrs LJ (C-School 3) was appointed the post of Director of Studies; and Mrs YZ (C-School 4), Head of Year 6. These teachers may possibly be seen as being in better positions to be aware of promoting cultural values because of the responsibilities of their administrative or academic posts as such, and also to be able to create opportunities of reinforcing cultural values such as the English teacher Mrs VB (E-School 1), who as headteacher invited a visitor for an assembly speech on meningitis. In this sense, therefore, these teachers may be able to play a particularly important role in cultural transmission in schools.

The teachers in the two countries see it as their duty to inculcate cultural values as was revealed in their interviews. In discussing visible and invisible class and pedagogies, Bernstein (1997) talks about 'framing', referring to the power relationships of interaction, in which the teacher can either appear to be in control or to devolve the control to the pupils where the control of the teacher over the child is implicit rather than explicit. This devolvement can be seen to relate to an individualistic point of view of social control in western individualistic context, which applies to what this research has found in England. The English children appear to be given more choices in their work and are encouraged to be more independent, but it is

in fact the teacher who is still in control although in a more hidden, or in Bernstein's term, 'implicit', way. For example, in the lesson of geography assessment, Mrs VB spoke to a boy named DV, 'I notice that your name is never up there [Names of those who have finished their work are listed on the board]. If you take three weeks to do it, then you do it. So the choice is yours. You make a decision and you waste your time now and you do it other times. Or you use this time, which is set aside for it and get it done. So what is your choice going to be?' In terms of Bernstein's social control, here it seemed that the boy had the freedom to make his own choice, but in fact he had no other choice but to make the decision of doing his work in class under the demand, or implicit order, of the teacher.

However, in China, a collectivist country (Triandis, 1995), there is a clear acknowledgement of control, 'explicit control', even extending to outside school. For keeping the children in control even after school, Mrs SJ (C-School 1) assigned the children a small project of Diary selection, a measure of 'killing two birds with one stone'. On the one hand, it would help the pupils to improve their writing ability; on the other hand, 'through their reports,' Mrs SJ stated, 'I can get the first-hand information about what they do every day after school when they are all out of the school, out of my sight.' As a class teacher, if you just know what the children are like at school by your side, and know nothing about how pupils behave outside the school, then you will miss the other side, or the other half of their full pictures. To do a good job as a class teacher, one needs 'to fully care for, fully educate and fully manage the children' (Gao and Huang, 1998:35), or in other words, to fully control the children and explicitly.

It is useful to note that in-depth exploration of teachers' individual differences i.e. life-histories, extensive interviews, etc. can help depict a fuller picture of teachers in the two countries. However, it would be beyond the scope of the research focus to do so for that purpose as this research looked generally at teachers as transmitters of cultural values to see how it worked in the classroom practice. This research though did reveal in the teacher interviews some individual differences between the teachers in the two countries in terms of the teachers' sense of duty, which was found to be part of their job in the primary school context of *caring*. Noddings (1984) argues that *caring* is essential in the school, pointing out that 'the primary aim of every educational institution and of every educational effort must be the maintenance and enhancement of caring' (p172), and 'the pupil who responds warmly to the teachers' caring rewards and encourages such feelings and act' (Jarrett, 1991:67). In this sense, that this research has identified *caring* as an important aspect of the cultural value theme of social awareness and also as part of the teachers' duty may seem particularly significant.

5.1.6 Understanding of cultural themes

This part of the chapter aims to provide a comparative dimension to the values that have been identified and which were generated from the data collected from the teacher interviews, classroom observations and documentary sources. The two broad sets of themes found in this study will be brought together and compared horizontally for similarities and differences from an inter-comparative point of view and examined vertically for intra-relationships between each set of four themes. These two sets are respectively:

England: individualism, a sense of responsibility, social awareness, and effort; and
China: collectivism, a sense of responsibility, social awareness, and achievement

Cultural value reinforcing strategies and processes will also be discussed in some detail. It has been found that *individualism* and *collectivism* seem to be cultural values that make the most striking contrast between the English teachers and the Chinese teachers in their classroom practice; 'a sense of responsibility' and 'social awareness' appear to be common themes shared in the two countries. However in the discussion below, it will be revealed that similarities still exist between values that appear to be different, and differences exist between values that seem identical or similar in England and China.

- Individualism versus Collectivism

Individualism and Collectivism have been found in this research to be a major cultural difference in differentiating between English and the Chinese cultural values. Since we have categories already established relating to individualism and collectivism in the literature, which might be expected in a comparison of English and Chinese schools, the observations from this research did not therefore reveal any thematic surprises from this perspective. However the findings from this research has revealed a less stereotypical picture than sometimes portrayed. The following part of this section will unfold the picture to show how these values were reinforced in the classroom practice, and in what way they relate to each other.

The English teachers in this study seemed to have explicitly and implicitly reinforced the value of individualism by motivating the children to be creative, raising this awareness of and establishing the habit of being individualistic, autonomous and self-

reliant. However, some collective features were also found in the English schooling. The regular morning assemblies, house groups, etc. appeared to be in similar collective forms to the Chinese collective class meetings, groups, etc. Although they seemed to be more often focused upon individuals from each class of the school rather than the collective of each class or the whole school itself, the English schools still provided individuals from every class with a platform where the children could assemble and sense the whole school collectivity as a member of a collective class; and the groups in the House system, though seen as permanent units in the class, also played an occasional role in sports and other activities. The children could thus still experience a sense of belonging, compete to contribute to their own House with their hard earned points and enjoy their memberships of the House with an enhanced sense of collective honour.

As well as finding collectivity running alongside individualism in England, it was also possible to identify individuality alongside Chinese collectivism. Harry Triandis (1995) declares that there are individual differences in every culture. It is significant that although collectivism as a whole dominated the Chinese classrooms observed, there were also some features reflecting the value of individualism, mainly the capability of working independently. This is much stressed in the official documents such as the national curriculum and by the teachers, though the term individualism was not literally used. The term individualism and its semantic interpretation in Chinese [*geren zhuyi*] have negative meanings of selfishness and individualistic heroism and are therefore rejected. In China, the term used by the teachers in this research in the place of 'individualism' (that is understood and advocated in England as carrying positive meanings) was *duli* (independent /independence /independently),

as in *duli sikao* (think independently) and *duli wancheng zuoye* (finish assignments independently). This term then avoids the notion of 'selfishness'.

Here the word *duli* highlights a kind of ability rather than a sort of ideological conception, and children are educated to form a good habit of thinking independently and doing work independently, but not copying others' thinking and finished assignments or thinking and working with others' assistance. Besides, the Chinese teachers also paid much attention to the fostering of the children's being independent, and the children were provided with lots of opportunities for this. All the class monitors for example chaired the class meeting, and those class committee members and even group leaders would all step up to the front and give a speech in the class meeting. Mrs YZ (C-School 4) even deliberately left all the New Year's Day celebration party work to the children themselves, from initial planning to the design and rehearsal of the performances, making a budget and purchase and preparation of food and 'nibbles', to organising and holding the party.

In identifying these complexities we can see that in the two countries the concepts of independence and collectivity have different meanings as discussed above. However this research has found that the understanding of the concepts is not so stereotypical since individualism and collectivism co-exist in one cultural context. Although the terms used may have different meanings in different countries, comparisons reveal complexities. A further example of a more complex interpretation of understanding collectivism can be seen by looking at comments from other writers.

General cultural differences that were observed (which are well known) were modified to a greater degree than perhaps has been recognised elsewhere. In the

Chinese context 'collectivism' can also be linked to the notion of 'face' – the need to present a positive image particularly of a group to which one belongs. It would not be surprising if the children were more willing to show off than to learn the skills on this public occasion because of the Chinese most valued *mianzi* - 'face'.

Gardner (1990) and Tobin, *et al.* (1987) complain that when they visited the Chinese classrooms or nurseries, everything was well prepared beforehand. In Gardner and Tobin's cases, that they repeatedly saw 'performances' was probably because those teachers involved intended to present a good or correct image and avoid a bad image, which might reveal mistakes, in order to show respect to their guests, to leave the guests, especially foreign guests with good impressions, and to win the best reputation possible, especially international reputation for the collective of their classroom group or the school. Losing face on this specific occasion was the last thing they would want because equally important was another version of 'face', an old saying '*Jiachou buke waiyang*' - 'The disgrace of a family should never be spread out'. This example is cited to explain that cultural phenomena may be misunderstood from a biased perspective or from the perspective of the outsider because cultures are different from one another. This intention of demonstrating a positive image of the group, unit or community, and protection of the reputation of the collective embody in these concepts and actions themselves the cultural value of collectivism in terms of this present research. Here then a failure to understand the implications of the cultural value of collectivism may have led to misinterpretations of classroom practice.

- A sense of responsibility

In the teaching in both countries, a sense of responsibility and social awareness were identified as two key values in common that all the teachers attached much importance to. The teachers in the two countries all tried to raise the children's awareness of the values of a sense of responsibility and social awareness, mostly implicitly, through some activities or events. What was different here then was that the English teachers organised activities in which the children played the main role, but the Chinese teachers organised activities in which the teachers themselves were dominant. This difference here indicates some implicit values: in the English activities children are given space to develop individualistic self-confidence whereas in the Chinese activities the teacher expects collectivist conformity and unity of the children. (These activities have been itemised in Chapter IV). It is not surprising that these are core themes in both countries. Children being socialised into becoming adults involves being personally and socially responsible whilst English characteristics of individuality may be seen as children being personally and socially responsible on an individual basis and Chinese characteristics of 'one large family' may be seen as children being socially responsible on a collective basis .

Mrs LJ (C-School 3) and Mrs YZ (C-School 4) are both concerned for the children's health as their personal responsibility. They also showed their responsibility to the children by explicitly modelling being responsible for the children. Mrs LJ described how she told the class (The majority of the class is from Muslim background) not to fast when the Muslim Ramadan was about to start and she took the lead in not fasting. 'I explained to them why they were not advised to have a fast,' Mrs LJ said. 'It is because they are too young, especially at their age of 12 or 13 when they are

physically developing.' She then continued to talk about a girl who has a serious stomach problem. 'She looks very thin and weak. If she went on with the fast, it would be hard to imagine what would happen to her...They will participate in sorts of afternoon activities and they will have long distance running in PE. What if they fainted or collapsed?' Between religious demands and the children's health, she was determined to choose the latter and she must take care of the children's health as a class teacher. In the end, the children accepted her advice, followed her model and gave up the fast. So here the teacher was explicitly transmitting cultural values using her authority (another implicit cultural value) in order to do so.

Mrs YZ delivered the message of responsibility implicitly by modelling responsibility as their class teacher in being concerned about their health. 'Many people are giving up smoking', Mrs YZ reported once saying to her pupils in class, 'because it is harmful to your health. Now it is a real virtue not to smoke. If you haven't had the experience of smoking, don't even try it; if you have already started it, give it up immediately before you get to form the bad habit of smoking.'

- Social awareness

As for the value of social awareness, this is emphasised in both countries in the National Curriculum, in the school rules, or received as a traditional moral virtue. In the English schools, many volunteers, pupils' parents or grandparents, offer help with children's reading, which is described by Wuthnow (1993) as 'reaching out to do what they can and use their skills to help'. I learned about this from my daughter's own experience and I also frequently encountered this when I used to collect my daughter from school. In this research I happened to see this in two schools. One old

lady entered Mrs VB's classroom (E-School 1) in the middle of her lesson and then three children followed the lady out, '(she was the) grandmother of one of the pupils in the class helping children with reading', Mrs VB later explained to me. And another occasion was when a mother of a child in Mr HS' class (E-School 4), again during the lesson, came in and two boys followed her out. This volunteering may be too familiar for the children to consciously realise it is caring for others, but this can be seen as one of the ways children absorb and assimilate, in Wuthnow's term 'often in quiet ways', cultural values imperceptibly influenced by adults' modelling behaviours. This can be seen as an implicit transmission of cultural values in the English context.

In the Chinese context, concern for others, and caring for elderly people are much valued, and in particular, 'supporting one's elderly parents is advocated and maintained as one of the Chinese traditional moral virtue' (Luo, 1996:8). In this research, one example of concern for others reported by Mrs LJ's class (C-School 3) was that four pupils as a volunteering team helped a boy with his studies at his home, which was encouraged and also praised by the teacher. This can be seen as attaching importance to collectivity for the purpose of making collective progress because one child lagging behind may mean a lower position of the whole class in the league tables. Therefore it can also be seen as a concern for others in the limited context of class members and not a broader group beyond the class.

This section looks at the data from the two countries more broadly in order to draw a global comparative picture of the teachers' classroom practice in England and China in terms of transmission of cultural values. In light of this research, a sense of responsibility can be linked to a sense of *identity*. Researchers such as Goulet (1994)

have used the word *identity* to indicate that different cultures may have varying identities that are represented by certain values, and this notion of *identity* itself can be seen as having different meanings in the two countries.

In England, children are encouraged to think of their own personal identity. Individual behaviour and assumed responsibility, even when individual involvement is part of a collective activity, seem to be seen as personal. For example, when the boy in School 1 was encouraged to speak openly at the school assembly about his unhappy family, this boy spoke for himself, and for his own benefit although it took place in a collective atmosphere. Another example was the boy in Mr HS's class (E-School 4), who was almost excluded from the Christmas presentation, where the teacher emphasised to the child that if he missed the chance of taking part this time, it would be a personal loss rather than thinking about losing the opportunity of contributing to the class or even the school collective as a member of the choir. On other occasions such as when teachers assigned differentiated tasks, distinctions were made on the basis of children's different personal identities.

By contrast, in China there seems to be a much stronger identity with being a representative of others. Chinese children such as class monitor or group leaders although they spoke individually in front of the whole class, seemed to speak for the whole class or the whole group. Personal behaviour seemed to represent a collective action. Children winning awards in competitions and matches were praised for winning honour for the class or the school (in Mrs SJ's case, C-School 1); children giving up their better seats to others were praised for putting the interests of the class collective before their own (in Mrs SJ's case); children ignoring their physical discomfort and winning high points in a sport race were praised for wholehearted

devotion to the glory of the class (in Mrs YZ' case, C-School 4); and children damaging public property, on the other hand, although specific personal behaviour, were seen staining the repute of the class collective (in Mrs LD's case, C-School 2).

Here then comparing examples from the two countries has revealed significant differences in children's expected sense of identity in relation to different cultural values. For the English children in this example identity can be seen as individual, but for Chinese children, identity can be seen more as collective.

- Effort versus Achievement

In this research, the English teachers are found to deliver the cultural message of effort to their pupils and the Chinese teachers are found to pass on to pupils the value of achievement. Although effort may ultimately lead to achievement, the English teachers appear to accept achievement at different levels because they pay more attention to effort, the process towards achievement rather than the product of achievement itself. According to the English teachers, pupils might be at a low level of ability, but whatever their achievement, as long as an effort is made, pupils should be fully supported. If people are judged by ability rather than effort, then it will be unfair for those who are less able. However, although achievement may originate from effort, the Chinese teachers appear to appreciate effort that results in absolute levels of achievement because they pay more attention to achievement. For the English teachers any achievement is appreciated as long as effort has been made, and for the Chinese teachers good achievement testifies that a child has worked hard. The Chinese teachers may encourage pupils to make efforts, but they demand that pupils work hard to achieve or succeed. Hard work is thus referred to as the process to

achievement. Also, the levels of achievement are not differentiated – there is a standard level, which is expected to be reached by all, and which is expected to contribute by all to the interests of the class collective in the competitive term-end league tables, whereas in England relative achievements are accepted and are in the first place expected to be different according to the specific case of each individual.

Hard work in China also refers to the work of labour and thus is an assessment standard applied in physical labour, which is an important subject in primary education (see Chapter IV). One cannot be an all-round excellent pupil without excellence in physical labour. Also in physical labour, children who are not good at studies may do better in this aspect and gain compliments and self-confidence. Just as the headteacher of School 3 remarked during my interview with Mrs LJ (C-School 3) in the headteacher's office, 'those who are not good at studies are usually good at physical labour.' That someone is good at physical labour means that he/she outdoes others by taking heavy and dirty work and finishing the work nicely and quickly.

Physical labour includes sorts of duty work, housework and sometimes farm work, ranging from cleaning the classroom, desks, windows, corridors and stairs, and sweeping the school playground or clearing snow on campus in winter; helping at home with shopping, cooking, washing-up, etc. It is stressed in the curriculum and also in the textbook of physical labour that

'everything is created through labour; pupils need to acquire labouring knowledge, master labouring skills and techniques, strengthen the awareness of physical labour, love of the labouring people, cherish labour fruits, and remember the true qualities of the labouring people; labour is the root for establishing a country, ruling a country and strengthening a country; and physical labour functions as a means of strategic quality education.'

(Year 6 Physical Labour Book 1, Xinjiang Education Press, 1998:5)

The cultivating of awareness of labour, therefore, can be said as importantly emphasized in China as the developing of awareness of autonomy is emphasized in England. Physical labour is thus one of the three themes of the class meeting along with study and discipline. Children who do well in physical labour are praised by group leaders, class monitors and the teachers.

Physical labour can be said to be one of the important differences in cultural values between the two countries. Children in England may not have to do those work that their Chinese peers do because they have other people, say, cleaners to do the cleaning and sweeping work for them, and obviously there is not the subject of physical labour in school and of course it is not stressed by teachers as a cultural value that pupils need to cherish. But English teachers do seem to unconsciously foster the value of physical labour. Pupils in fact are often assigned to undertake some forms of labour, such as carrying out a project of investigation. What is different is that the children participate in activities, in which there appears to be a combination of physical labour and brainwork, simple labour and advanced technology, and labour and pleasure. In other words, in those activities of field investigation, data gathering, learning to operate equipments, etc. there is normally some labour involved.

Here again through comparison we can see that 'hard work has different meanings in the two countries. In China, 'hard work' is seen as physically challenging while in England it may be seen as mentally challenging; on the other hand, 'work' refers to labour, which concentrates on the physical dimension whereas 'work' in England may stand for activities, which could be just thinking and not necessarily physically demanding.

5.2 Comparison revealing diversity

Diversity may be expected in studies of cultural comparison. However, it can be seen from the data analysis in Chapter IV that this research has found more commonalities and similarities than differences between the two cultures, although it was originally designed to explore cultural diversity in the two cultural settings. This can be viewed in two ways: that there are many commonalties in primary school contexts in both countries (teachers are after all socialising children to become competent adults); and that the mindset of the researcher interprets the data in a particular way. Although this is a study based on an ethnographic approach with the events and people speaking for themselves, nevertheless the interpretation is that of the individual researcher. Triandis (1995) suggests that "people who have been raised in collective cultures tend to 'cognitively convert' situations into collectivist settings; people who have been raised in individualistic cultures tend to convert situations into individualistic settings (p5)". As a research student from Chinese culture, I may have tended to pick up important cultural values that were expected of a collectivist mind-set of 'conformity' and 'harmony' (Triandis, 1995).

It is important to stress that because of the nature of this research as a multiple case study, and the educational backgrounds of the two countries in this study, in trying to answer the two main research questions, this research has intended to explore detailed in-depth meanings of teachers' classroom practice rather than trying to claim generalisability of its findings. Moreover, there are other factors that are also influential. The English primary schools are so extremely diverse that there is not any typical English primary school in England (OFSTED, 1999, OFSTED's review of primary schools in England 1994 – 1998). Researchers like Acker, 1995; Feuerverger,

1997; Young, 1995 argue that diversity presents a particular thorny problem for efforts to generalise, one that has hardly been tackled. Acker (1999) observes some factors that may make generalisation difficult and that also apply in this research: teachers come from many backgrounds, work in many different types of school of out-of-school settings, teach contrasting subjects, hold various types of contracts, enjoy greater or lesser status and operate within different political and economic constraints (Acker, 1999:52).

In China, on the other hand, a huge country with an enormous population, its peoples are diverse in their languages and subcultures or regional or ethnic group cultures. There are important differences between north and south, and between urban and rural settings. We do not expect all Chinese teachers to be exactly the same, in terms of the transmitting of culture, although they all work within the still centralised education system and share the National Curriculum. (Cortazzi and Jin, 1996).

In the English-speaking literature I have read there is often a focus on individual variation and diversity, which can be seen as linking into the English focus on the individual. With a Chinese researcher carrying out a comparative study it highlighted the cultural expectations found in western literature that diversity will be revealed by comparison. This might have been the case if the researcher had come from a western individualistic culture. The comparisons made here then prompt a deeper consideration of ethnographic interpretation. We could say therefore that research findings seem to be linked to cultural mind-set as much as to what actually exists in the field.

5.3 Summary

Generally speaking, cultural comparison helps the researcher to identify complexities of cultural concepts that have different meanings, to reveal the cultural boundedness of vocabulary that carries different meanings and also to recognise the cultural boundedness of research. This cultural boundedness may still exist even if it is an ethnographic approach that is taken where the researcher attempts to get into the insider's life and understand the insider's viewpoint. Cultural comparison may also be able to make the familiar strange and make the strange familiar, and challenge stereotypical understanding of cultural phenomena. In terms of this research, the comparison between England and China has been helpful in identifying the cultural content and transmission methods and strategies employed in the teachers' classroom practice in the two countries.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

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6.0 Introduction

This research hopes to make a salient contribution by bridging the gap in the area of comparative education, where there seems to have been some lack of systematic portraying of classroom cultural events, particularly in the aspects of what and how cultural values are transmitted in classrooms in England and China. This research presents details of what is going on in class to readers outside the classroom and even to the teachers, who themselves may not be well aware of what cultural values they transmit and how they do it. In the first part of this concluding chapter of the thesis, the transmitting of cultural values in England and China will be looked at from a comparative perspective to answer the two main research questions in the light of the cultural comparison. Then there is a summary of the contributions of this research. Following on from this, the limitations of the research will be discussed and recommendations for future studies in relation to this research, will be made.

6.1 Conclusions

This ethnographic comparative study has been carried out to find out what cultural values are being transmitted and how they are being transmitted by primary school teachers in England and China. Coming up with a detailed description of the vivid classroom scenarios of activities or events, it has revealed that the four major themes of cultural values – *individualism, a sense of responsibility, social awareness* and *effort* – are prominently embodied in the classroom practice of the English teachers, and the four values of *collectivism, a sense of responsibility, social awareness* and *achievement* in the teaching of the Chinese teachers. This then has provided the

answer to the first question of the research *'What cultural values are transmitted in the classroom?'* Here then two values were shared: a sense of responsibility and social awareness. Given its findings and implications as discussed below, this research is hoped to be useful to policy makers, administrators, teachers, and researchers interested in this area.

The main purposes of the research were to explore in the classrooms in the two countries what cultural content teachers transmitted to the children and what methods and strategies they used in doing so. However, there was also the teaching context that we needed to take into account in the first place because there are the national curricula, within which teachers implement the teaching, the schools, of which they form a part and contribute to the teaching and learning environment, and the classrooms, the arena where teachers perform their part.

Although the contrast of individualism in England and collectivism in China is not new knowledge, individualism and collectivism have been found in this research as a radical cultural distinction in differentiating between English and Chinese cultural values. However, as discussed earlier, there are 'collective' features in English schools, and 'individualistic' features in Chinese schools.

As for the values of a sense of responsibility and social awareness, which are found shared among the teachers in the two countries, the teachers show that they have tried to raise the children's awareness of these two values by organising a variety of activities. It is identified that the Chinese teachers have more responsibilities as class teachers and appear particularly concerned about the academic performance of the children and the English teachers seem to be concerned more about the children's

creativity and enjoyment of their school life. The English teachers and the Chinese teachers may also be seen as sharing the value of achievement in common. As discussed above, the English teachers appear to emphasise effort and the Chinese teachers appear to emphasise hard work when both effort and hard work as the process lead to achievement as the product. The values found in this research, which are categorised of four themes, are discovered to be more of cultural social values than cultural academic values. It has also found that the Chinese teachers teach values in every lesson as the English teachers do, but the Chinese teachers in fact deal with more academic values in lessons than social values, and they teach more social values in class meetings. Examining lessons and class meetings in depth revealed differences in integration of values and sharpened the distinction between social and academic values. Pollard (1985), however, confuses these two aspects of values. The division in China clarifies the difference. Also analysing class meetings in depth meant sharper insights into classroom lessons in China – social cultural values do exist there but are much more hidden.

Findings about the methods and strategies are now to answer the second research question *'How are cultural values transmitted?'* The teachers in both countries are found both consciously and unconsciously and implicitly and explicitly transmitting cultural values, and the Chinese teachers are even more explicit than their English counterparts. Three main modes have been identified: *relying on shared known codes, setting up specific activities and using people or contexts as living examples.* In Mode 1, the teachers praise or criticise pupils measuring the children's behaviour against already known teacher-pupil shared codes, which tend to be top-down official and unchanging in China, and the bottom-up voice of each local school or the children in England. Common symbolic routines are shared across classrooms in China whereas

in England routines seem to be set up individually in classes. Teacher-centred teaching is dominant in China but in England it is more common to find a child-centred approach. In both countries praise is found to include verbal compliments and physical rewards; and not respecting others is criticised in both countries.

Teachers in England and China were also found to share some strategies in common in Mode 2: listening to the children's voice/contributions, calling for donations, and assigning small projects, although the purposes of the projects were different. In Mode 3, the teachers in both countries make exemplary use of pupils, of themselves and of others from outside the school as living embodiments of cultural values.

Whether it is the individualist English teachers or collectivist Chinese teachers, this research suggests that the teachers from both countries reinforce cultural values through the process of the classroom practice to *socialise* the children. Put simply, the teachers are preparing the children to be competent citizens. Thus the English teachers tend to create the future citizens who have qualities of autonomy, who are personally and socially responsible, who show respect and concern for others, and who make an effort in their work; and the Chinese teachers tend to create the future citizens who put the collective and the national interests before their own, who are personally and socially responsible, who show respect and concern for others, and who work hard at their work to achieve and succeed. It can be seen that despite different emphases, the process of transmitting culture seems similar in England and China.

6.2 Contributions and limitations

I will first try to clarify how my research is different to others. In terms of the cultural values transmitted by teachers, what I have found in this research may not be new, but

what is meaningful is that I have identified these cultural values being systematically enacted and transmitted. Using an ethnographic approach and systematically grouping the values within a comparative context have revealed considerable complexities, to which researchers have paid little attention before. What is more meaningful in terms of this research, however, is that I have particularly looked comparatively at the methods and strategies that were used by the teachers in the two countries in transmitting cultural values, and have attempted to formulate a typology that could be of use to other researchers. This, an in-depth examination of the 'how', has rarely been dealt with by other researchers from an interculturally comparative perspective.

In referring back to Chapter II, the comparison of this research with others can be made on the basis of the three reviewed literature areas: cultural studies, comparative studies and comparative cultural studies. Firstly, this research as a study of culture looks at the actual classroom practice in terms of transmitted cultural values with reference to the context and process. It differs to studies (Osborn, 1996; Pollard, 1985) that do look at values but which are less concerned with the methods and strategies of value transmission; or that emphasise culture in the setting of language teaching and learning (Morgan and Cain, 2000; Byram and Moragan, 1994); or that only suggest cultural content and methods for teaching (Warnock, 1996) or only investigate strategies through survey rather than from the classroom observation (Veugelers, 2000). Also in these studies there is less distinction made between social cultural values and academic cultural values. Then as an international comparative study, it differs from other similar studies that have explored perceptions of children (Broadfoot, Osborn, et al. 2000; Planel, 1997); or studies that compare within a country looking at teachers' working lives (Menter, Muschamp, et al. 1999) or the social world of primary schools (Pollard 1985); and finally, as a cultural study, it is

different from other studies that see culture as the context where pedagogical activities take place (Broadfoot and Osborn, 1993; Alexander, 2000); or, in other cases, that compare China with England but focus on ELT (Cortazzi and Jin, 1996) or compare China with Japan and the United States but look at pre-school teachers (Tobin, et al., 1987).

6.2.1 Contributions

In personal terms, the experience of the fieldwork in the four schools in England can be seen as very useful in making the strange familiar with in-depth observation of classroom practice. Also the fieldwork back in the four Chinese schools was rewarding. Although I have been familiar with Chinese education since I was a primary pupil, the fieldwork of this research revealed many in-depth meanings of teaching beyond my knowledge. Since I have been away from China for quite a few years, there is some disjuncture between my own lived experience of education as a child and student and current Chinese educational practices. To some extent this discrepancy allowed me some distance from the Chinese educational context that I used to be very familiar with. Also, as my daughter was too young for school in China, I did not have the same opportunity of getting to know about Chinese primary education as I have had in England from the experience of my daughter going to an English school. With the rapid economical and political changes in China over the years, the education sector is believed to have taken on a new look. Hence, this personal background also proved helpful in preventing me as a researcher from being too familiar with the field situation in the home country, which means there was a distance that kept me from too stereotyped a viewpoint of the Chinese primary education. On the other hand, my experience of studying and teaching in England was

only at a basic level in terms of knowing about the primary education and it was helpful for me to start off with the fieldwork while I was not in any way too familiar with the English primary education to 'go native'.

The field of the research can thus be said to add a contribution to knowledge in education. Other major contributions include the following:

- it has provided the readers with a thick description and a thematic analysis of 'textural qualities' of vivid classroom events from a comparative perspective of cultural transmission; and in so doing it has identified a framework of a coherent set of cultural values that are transmitted through daily teaching activities or events in oriental and western cultural settings;
- this research has particularly discovered the classroom functional pattern of the methods and strategies that the teachers in each country use in transmitting cultural values, i.e., the three different transmission modes characterising conscious and unconscious transmission, and implicit and explicit delivery of cultural values.
- this research has added complexity to stereotypes of national culture, notably that collectivism and individualism can co-exist, and that the meanings of these terms are in themselves culturally bound;
- in contrast to most of the (English-speaking) researchers in the literature who stress differences in primary education practice, this research has identified cultural commonalties perhaps as a result of the mainly collectivist perspective I am likely to have as a Chinese researcher; and
- this collectivist perspective has in turn revealed the culture-bound nature of any interpretation even where an ethnographic approach is adopted.

Therefore it can be said that this research may contribute to the body of knowledge in several different ways, but the particular feature of the exploration of the 'how' may stand out as the salient originality of the research.

6.2.2 Limitations

As well as the 'collectivist' perspective usefully revealing the culturally bound nature of interpretation, this can also be seen as a limitation. Halls (1990:27) points out that a foreigner may bring to the study of another system his own cultural prejudices, which may tend to cloud the judgement and invalidate conclusions. This is a question of unconscious bias that has exercised researchers in comparative education greatly in recent years. It may represent an inevitable limitation in this research, as in all similar studies. Also, as a foreigner, although I have personally been living in the English culture for quite a few years, imperceptibly influenced by what has constantly been seen, heard and read, I may still have sensed and understood the culture at a fairly superficial level; while the Chinese education system may be somewhat too familiar. An added complication in the research in China is that the official status of the research may also have affected teachers' behaviour at a certain level. In an English context making something official rather than personal may make teachers less forthcoming. In China I was persuaded by those introducing me to the schools that the reverse was likely to be true, i.e., Chinese teachers would be more likely to be co-operative and give their opinions if there was some status attached to the research. However this aspect was not fully researched so conclusions need to be tentative.

As this was a small-scale study with restrictions of time and labour, I was not able to extend the scope to the children (although this was clearly identified as part of the

original design). The absence of children's involvement in this research makes it another limitation.

Ambiguity in classroom practice also makes interpretation difficult resulting in another limitation of this research. Instances of ambiguity were noticed in the teaching in both countries. Take Mrs VB (E-School 1) for example. In the lesson of geography assessment, Mrs VB previously praised SM for not demanding help from the teacher and working independently on his task, but later when she criticised TM for not asking the teacher for help, Mrs VB, comparing TM with SM, praised SM for coming to the teacher for help. So SM was praised for not making any demands in the first place, but TM was criticised for not asking the teacher for help; what made it even more ambiguous was that when criticising TM, Mrs VB praised SM again for coming to the teacher for help. Here then it would have been useful if I had investigated these ambiguities with the teachers and had more in-depth interview time with them to discover their viewpoint more fully. However there was not enough time to include this dimension and the research was designed to identify classroom practice and cultural values being transmitted. The Chinese teachers sometimes were also found to be ambiguous in their dealing with problems. For example, Mrs YZ (C-School 4) reported in her interview that she would not criticise pupils by name especially in front of the class, but when in the class meeting, she not only criticised some children by name but also she expressed dissatisfaction about group leaders not naming those who did not behave and demanded the group leaders to do so from then on. If I had longer time for the fieldwork, it would have been helpful for me to speak with the teachers regarding the issue of ambiguity, and to explore these in greater depth in order to understand more fully.

Alexander (2000) explains the idea of teachers' 'espoused theory' and their 'theory-in-use' advanced by Argyris and Schon in 1974, stating that 'espoused theory' is the idea to which teachers give allegiance and which they communicate to others; 'theory-in-use', on the other hand, is the idea which, in the privacy of their classroom, actually inform their actions (p195). Put simply, and in terms of my research, this idea of 'espoused theory' and 'theory-in-use', can be understood as 'what teachers say (in their interviews) and what teachers do (in their classrooms)'. Although comparisons between 'what teachers say' and 'what teachers do' can reveal the similarities and differences between cultural values in their words and those in their actions, and also classroom observations and interviews can be used to examine the thinking beyond the espoused theory, this research was designed to identify cultural values either implicitly or explicitly expressed in the teacher interviews, and then to combine the findings discovered in the observations with the findings from the interviews to draw a fuller picture of cultural transmission. Therefore, this research was not designed to examine whether what the teachers say in their interviews match what they do in practice.

6.3 Recommendations

This small-scale comparative study, due to the limitations mentioned above, has focused upon teachers' classroom practice concerning what cultural values they transmit and how they carry out the job within the framework of content, process and context. It may have just looked at one piece of the jigsaw of cultural values and has left much space for or has led to other interesting and prospective perspectives to be researched. The subjects of research may go beyond the scope of teachers further to children and parents or even educators.

Therefore related areas for further research are recommended as follows, and research on these areas could be undertaken using intra-cultural or inter-cultural comparison: What are the pupils' perceptions of culture and the transmission of culture in class? What are the parents' perceptions of culture and their expectations of the teachers in terms of cultural transmission? To what extent do teachers in England and China perceive themselves as transmitting culture in their classroom practice? What roles do teachers and parents play in dealing with home-school value conflicts? Or, to what extent does the teacher education programme prepare teachers for the role of transmitting culture?

This research hopes to be particularly useful for policy makers, teachers, researchers, and others interested in this area. This empirical study focused upon some specific areas previously less explored in comparative cultural studies: classroom practice, cultural values and the methods and strategies that the teachers used in transmitting cultural values in England and in China. A range of methods was used for the data collection and analysis. This research also hopes to reveal to the reader that the researcher's interpretative analytical tools were not only personally but also culturally bound.

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School rules (England)

School rules and Code of conduct (China)

Photo 1-1

Work on display (England)

Work on display (China)

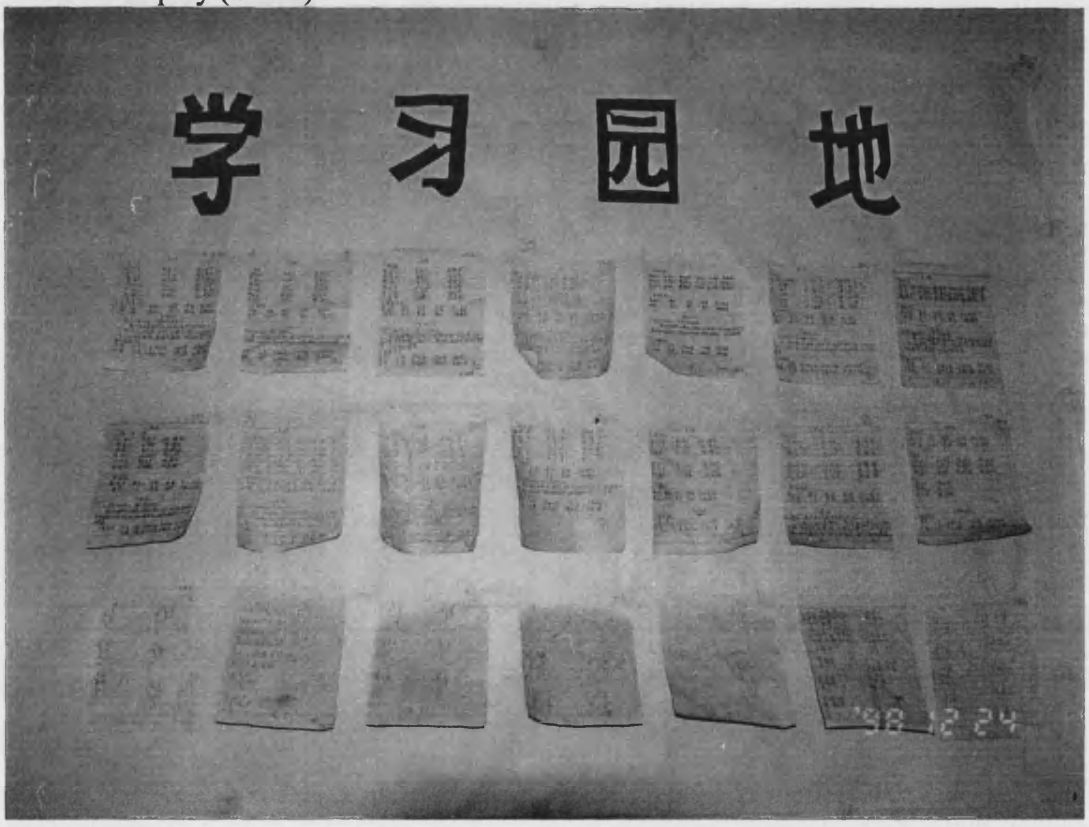

Photo 1-2

A reward system (England)

Photo 1-3

A reward system – Red flowers (China)

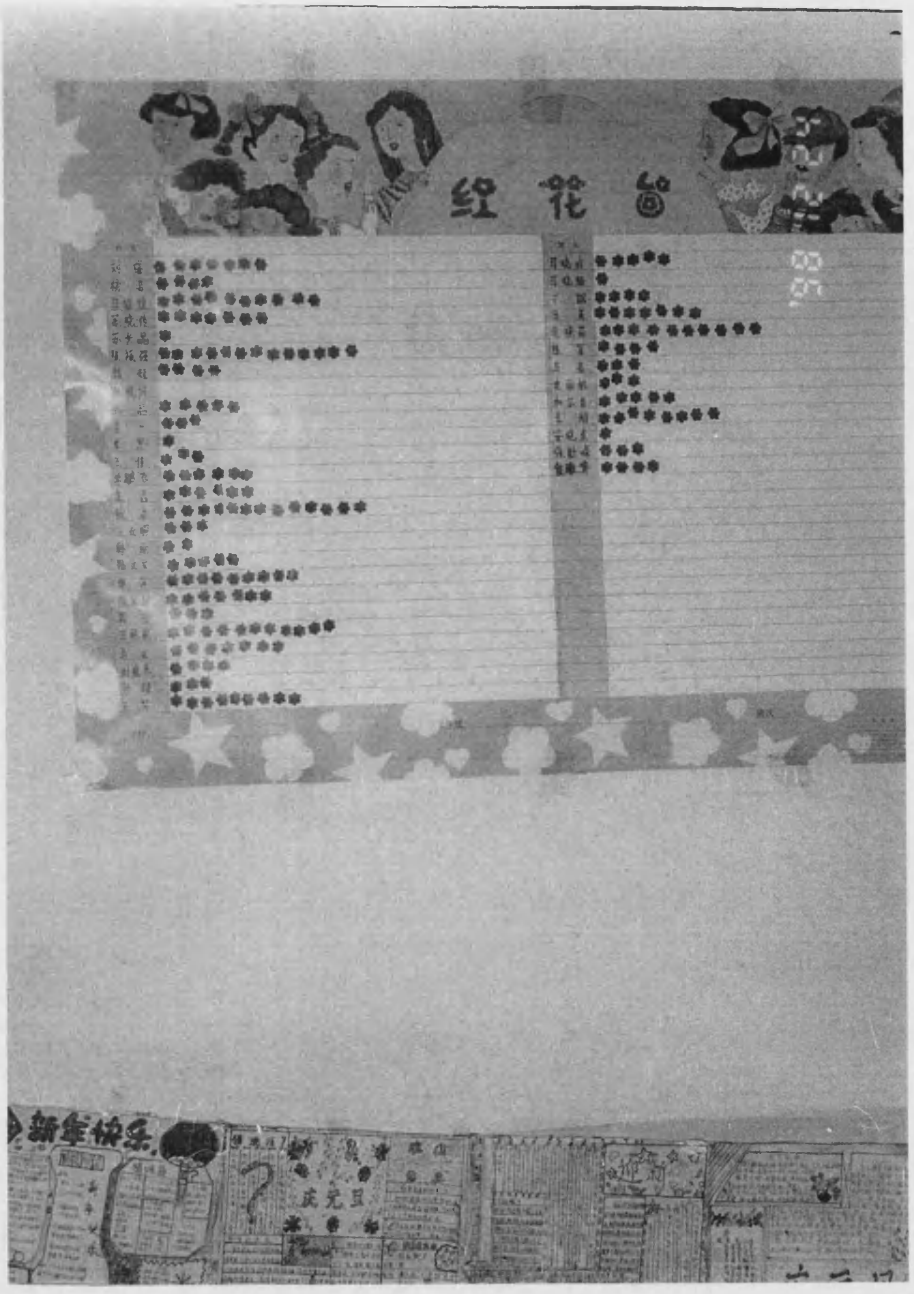

Photo 1-4

School exterior (England)

School exterior (China)

Photo 1-5

School exterior (England)

School exterior (China)

Photo 1-5

A day to remember (England)

A day to remember - all smiling? (China)

Photo 1-6

Work on blackboard (England)

Work on blackboard by pupils (China)

Photo 1-7

Mrs YZ (C-School 4) clears snow with pupils

Mrs LD (C-School 2) clears snow with pupils

Photo 1-8

Performing in class (England)

A show is on in class (China)

Photo 1-9

Seat arrangement (England)

Seat arrangement (China

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Year 6 class teacher and pupils (Urban, England)

Year 6 class teacher and pupils (Urban, China)

Photo 1-11

Being served – a Christmas dinner (England)

D.I.Y. – making New Year's Eve dumplings (China)

Photo 1-12

'Are you all right?' (England)

'No snow balls at others' faces!' (China)

Photo 1-13

Above the ground (England)

On the ground (China)

Photo 1-14

A few individuals playing on the playground (England)

A whole school scale exercise (China)

Photo 1-15

'V' – a shared value

Photo 1-16

After class

Photo 1-17

Classroom interior (England)

Classroom interior (China)

Photo 1-18

Class teacher and pupils (Rural, England)

Class teacher and pupils (Urban, England)

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New Young Pioneers (China)

Collective exercise (China)

Photo 1-20

Year 6 class teachers and pupils of a rural school (England)

Year 6 class teacher and pupils of a rural school (China)

Photo 1-21

Appendix 2: Transcripts of eight interviews and one informal conversation:

English 2-1 to 2-5

Chinese 2-6 to 2-9

Appendix 2-1

Interview with Mrs VB, E-School 1

11th Nov.1998, 9.00am, in the office, England

Key:

T1: the interviewee

YQ: the interviewer

... : pause

(...): inaudible

YQ: I'd like to thank you first for your kindly permitting my visit to this school. I hope my frequent visit in the coming couple of months will not cause you much inconvenience in the normal teaching activities.

T1: I was going to ask you if you could just write a little bit what your research is about so I can present it to my governor next week to tell them that you are working in the school and lessons are being recorded so that my LEA will know what you are doing in here as well. Is that ok?

YQ: That's ok.

T1: Just one page of a report, that will do.

YQ: I will send it to you before we meet next time. We'll meet again on ...Monday, 16th Nov.

T1: You might want to go on Tuesday, 17th, you might want to go in for assembly because we have a visitor coming in with Meningitis Trust. Meningitis affects the children. In fact one of the children in my class has had it and she's deaf due to this disease. So she's coming to talk to us that day and the children will come in any clothes they want. I give you, you take this to read. It is a disease which is common in this area in England, so, you know, we are going to make money for them to help with

this research. And it's very meaningful to me because when I first came here, we lived in London, when I first came to Gloucestershire, I got this disease and I was very ill. I nearly died. So I'd like to support, and particularly as we have a child in school, who's made deaf by this disease. So what happens is that the children are coming without uniforms so they pay a pound to come in ordinary dress and that money we give for research. So it's fundraising.

YQ: Could you just say something about the class, shall we start from the number of children you have in the class?

T1: There are 25 children in the class. 12 boys and 13 girls. 12 of the children are Year 6s, and 13 are Year 5s. Now we have to have this because they are very small schools and so we have to have what we call 2 Years in 1 Class. It's called vertical grouping.

YQ: Is it the class teacher who divided them into two grades, or?

T1: It's the school, well, I suppose it's my decision as the headteacher. But we've tried different ways in dividing them and it didn't work very well. You know, we tried to, the lower part of the school just to have reception in Year 1, but because Year 2 is still at Key Stage 1, it's very difficult for the teacher to deliver one syllabus to a few children, another syllabus to another. So now we just have one Key Stage 1 class, which is three year groups, reception, Year 1 and Year 2. And then they transfer to Class 2, which is Key Stage 2. Are you familiar with Key Stage 2?

YQ: Key Stage 2, yes.

T1: And so in Key Stage 2 we have Year 3, 4 and then Year 5, 6.

YQ: Do these children know which year they are in?

T1: Yes, they do. Sometimes when our numbers are very big, like last year for example, we had a lot of children in Class 2, we don't like to have a class of more than 30. So we transferred 4 children to my class last year, last academic year. So in 97/98 we had Year 4s and Year 5s and, 6.

YQ: Do these children know which year they are in?

T1: Yes, they do. Sometimes when our numbers are very big, like last year for example, we had a lot of children in Class 2, we don't like to have a class of more than 30. So we transferred 4 children to my class last year, last academic year. So in 97/98 we had Year 4s and Year 5s and Year 6s in the same class. But the Year 4s who were transferred were those who were very academically able so that they would be able to work with the Year 5 group.

YQ: How many subjects do they learn?

T1: They learn 10 subjects. They do Mathematics, English, science, geography, history, music, physical education, religious education, information technology, which they call it ICT (information communications technology) and design and technology. And we have to fit all the subjects into 25 hours of teaching. Very difficult.

...

YQ: Could you please say something about the pupils' family backgrounds?

T1: Well, um, our area is a wealthy area. My school and five other schools are supposed to have the most intelligent parents and most wealthy parents, etc. in our county. But in the school, we also have some children from very poor families who are very difficult, but then that is life. It is good to have a mixture of children (...). But on the whole, most of our parents are at work. You know, they are in highly

professional jobs and the majority of them are university educated parents. They have nice homes, I think most of our children, there's only one or maybe now three families out of our fifty-two who live in council house. All the rest are home owners, ok. Um, we have a few single parents. So on the whole, you know, it's, it's, the children are from what we call very wealthy families.

YQ: How do you deal with this then, the children come from very different family backgrounds in terms of the social and economical aspects?

T1: Well, we personally, I personally have a school fund. We generate funds. We help, I don't like any of my children to miss out any extra activity because they can not afford it. Ok. So for example, if the children go on a trip, go on a camping holiday, and it costs quite a bit of money. And the parents, it's all done very anonymously, other people aren't aware, that the parents who can't afford to send their children, the school pays for it. We pay for it, so that they do not miss out the trip. Ok. And also if we think a child has talent to do music, we pay for them to have extra instruments like brass, or something like that. Bu the school deals with (...) private between the parents and ourselves. And if you go for trips, like to (...) Abbey, I mean this time the school is going to pay for the children to go. But if it costs parents something, those children will be paid for so that they never miss out. So everybody was treated equally.

YQ: I think that's in terms of family economic background. Are there any differences in their life styles or habits?

T1: I don't think so. I don't think there is a terrific cultural difference, say, as in China. (...) I think over here there has become more quality. Now work people are able to go to university because they've got a grant. But you know, it's beginning to

change again. It's going back to the old days (...). But you know, in 1960s and 70s, 80s, young people got grants, so you would have people who were in very poor background, who'd gone to university, and gone to become doctors. You know, not like people in the old days, when it was the time when only wealthy people could afford to send their children to university, and so it became a division in the rich and the poor. But that doesn't happen now. And I think in this school, we do try to support the parents. We have lots of resources, for example, our computers, are only allowed children who are from poor backgrounds to have our computers during the holiday, so that they have access to computers, and just like maybe their peer group (...). So in this school we try to give people opportunities and we have good library for children to use. The children are allowed to take books to do their research for independent work, and things like that, you know, quite happy to share the resources in the school with the children who don't have facilities.

YQ: Mr M [another teacher] told me there is a girl who just came from Japan. Is her family living around here?

T1: Yes. Well, she's from a single parent family, and they live in (...).

YQ: In terms of those children who are from single parent families, did ever anything happen like the other children having different attitude or behaviour towards them?

T1: No. In this school, it's very unusual. Because I used to be the head of a school for children who have emotional or behavioural disorders. And a lot of those problems because of the (...). And my philosophy is that we talk very openly about problems we make children aware if their mothers or fathers have left. And they can talk about, they talk to others about it. So we have a situation and even in my class. You would have picked up two boys, whose names are Tom and Sam. They are both statement,

they are children in special needs. But Tom's mother was a mother who walked out one holiday, left the father with his two children. Tom was then about six. The father has since remarried and the mother has since remarried. The mother still wants to access. And this child was very confused. He lives with his father from Monday to Friday, Friday to Monday he lives with his mother. And the mother works full time. So he's looked after his stepfather. He hates his stepfather. And they have problems and last week was a very bad week. But he's able to talk about it now. You know, on Monday, when I did my assembly, he had a complaint about his childhood (...) and Tom said 'Yes. I had a very bad week at home. My parents made me very unhappy.' And he was able to express this in front of all the children, in front of 78 children so that the children understand what his problems are and they were trying to support rather than, you know, make fun, say you don't have a father or whatever, do you know what I mean? So it's a healthy and also it is therapeutical to the child to be able to express his anxieties. And so therefore it remains a sort of better atmosphere in the school. They are not bullied or made to feel outsiders because of their parents. So you know, they are very comfortable to be able to talk about it. It's not a shame. Because it's not the children's fault. And also it's important that people realise that. One of our children CL, her father was killed in a tragic accident. And we didn't not talk about death, we talked about death very openly at the assembly time, so that she was comforted by it, the support from us. Now her mother has a new partner. They are not married and the partner has moved in. And you know, she was able to express it. So they are very open, but it's very unusual. You won't find this in other schools. It is unusual because I'm experienced in this area, the psychology of this area. And I don't think you will find this happens in other schools. They might talk about it in a general function, not in a personal function as here you talk about it personally. You know

they might talk about death or they might talk about divorced parents, but they wouldn't allow the children themselves to express it, whereas here it's a different thing.

YQ: Then what do you do with children who show their kindness to help teachers or peers?

T1: Well, we have a rewards system. We have three houses. The children are put in houses, which they call after three English trees. They call oak, elm and ash. And the children are put in those, and then they select a captain and a house captain and a vice captain. And they do voting. You know, they have to stand up and (...) they will make good captain and vice captain. And then (they are given voting...) and the children vote for that. So that look after their houses. Now what happens is that we have like behaviour cards, I'll show you in the classroom, but I show you first in here. We have a card like this. It's called a rewards sticker album. Inside they will have a sheet and then we give them house points so if they are polite or if they've done a piece of good work, they get a house point. When they get 10, they get a sticker. Then when they get 10 stickers, I give them special prizes, so we're rewarding,

YQ: What are those special prizes like?

T1: Well, I mean they are just little toys [showing the stuff]. All the boys' presents are gone. They are like you know boxes, things like that, and they can choose, just something pretty and nice. They have to earn those. You know, it brings out the positive behaviour, rather than the negative.

YQ: What about rules against negative behaviour then?

T1: Well, the thing is that we don't have any punishments as such. We try to talk out the situation, try to make the child see what is done wrong. We ask him why he's

done it. If it's a bad behaviour in the playtime, we'll say why. It might be that he's been picked on by somebody else. So we discuss it and quite often we will ask the children what do you think it would be a good punishment for the child concerned. For example, we had some problems with the bathroom, the boys' bathroom window and some of the boys were trying to throw things out of the window and one of the members of staff noticed this. So they asked them these boys were behaving badly what do you think we should do to punish them. Also in the bathroom there is a bin when they wipe their hands, the towels go in the bin. Quite often, the towels are on the floor. So the children said we think the good punishment for them is to go in and pick up all the towels and make sure they are in the bin and not around. So they had to do that for the week. That was a punishment that came from the children themselves. So you know, it's really good like that.

YQ: Do you think these children of Year 6 when they will finish primary and go in to secondary school specially need anything in terms of forming good behaviour?

T1: Well, we have touch word, we have very good behaviour in the school. We have odd problems like Sam, he's on special register because his problems are behaviour. He's very aggressive but I think it's more of, you know, it's a physical thing rather than a mental thing. (...) He just cannot control himself. So we work very closely with his parents. And we have modified his behaviour quite a lot. But I'm not happy about him transferred to another school, to senior school. So you know, at the moment, we are going to be working with psychiatrist to learn some more social skills and how to cope. Over here, it's very easy because we are a small school. So we are able to keep an eye on these children and to give the support. But when they go to large school, where there are 1200 pupils, it's very easy for them to get lost. So we

have to, but on the whole, the children don't have behaviour problems. It's a well run school and well behaved children.

YQ: Yeah. Very good. Thank you very much for this nice talk.

T1: Anything else?

YQ: I think that's it and I look forward to sitting in your class.

T1: It will be very interesting to you, because I'm teaching and you'll see a different style of teaching.

Appendix 2-2

Interview with Mrs DN, E-School 2
18th November 1998, 1.30pm, in the office, England

Key:
T2: the interviewee
YQ: the interviewer
... : pause
(...): inaudible

YQ: Could you please say something first about the Year 6 class?

T2: It's Year 5 and 6. It's mixed ages...with various abilities. I have four special needs children. It's not an easy class.

YQ: How many pupils do you have in the class?

T2: I have 27. There are more boys than girls. Off the top of my head I don't know the ratio, I'm afraid, but there are more boys than girls. And I have some other disruptive and bad behaviour children, who (...).

YQ: What are the family backgrounds of these children?

T2: I've got some who have got broken homes. And I've got some who are from one parent families. I've got some children who reconsider that they're neglected, but have mother and father, but they are just left on themselves. And I've got some whose parents are very interested, very supportive. So it's quite a mixture. And I've got brothers and sisters in the same class and I've got a pair of twins.

YQ: Are they all from the local area?

T2: They're all very local. I've got one comes in from CM and one comes in from FS, one comes in from (...), and the rest from within the village.

YQ: So most of them are from the village.

T2: Yes. Definitely a village school.

YQ: Are there any children from different ethnic groups?

T2: They're all British.

YQ: Hmm, I would expect that there are one or two cases of children not behaving so well, hmm, I'm interested to know how you normally deal with this sort of behaviour.

T2: It depends what it is.

YQ: Sometimes it might be something like bullying or swearing.

T2: (...) I say things like 'This is not school language. This is gutter language. This is the language of outside of the school.' When you're in school, you do not say this. You can say 'Sausages', anything you are not allowed to say that. It's how I deal with that.

YQ: How do they respond to that then?

T2: They usually respond very well, because they know what I'm going to say. They know, by this age, they know that there is a code of language for in school and a code of language for outside school. And I suspect there's a code of language that they have with their friends and a code of language they have in front of their mum and dad.

YQ: Are there any children who behave so badly that you've got to take some measures in some way?

T2: Sometimes I feel they need to be removed from the classroom for X number of minutes. So they either go outside the door or they go to another classroom.

YQ: You may remove one child to, say, Year 4 or Year 3 class, but what is s/he going to do there?

...

YQ: Do they realise that it is a kind of punishment because they didn't behave well.

T2: Yes.

YQ: What can we then expect from removing them from the classroom?

T2: They know that that behaviour is totally and utterly unacceptable. And if they ever do it again, they will be removed from my class. I don't do it very often. Otherwise, it doesn't work. They get upset because they know they've gone well away over the line. Sometimes they just need to go out to the classroom for 30 seconds or whatever to calm down and give space to them, whoever it was and whatever had happened and then they came back in and everything was fine. Sometimes they just need to stay at playtime or whatever.

YQ: So they can't go out and play.

T2: They can't go out and play.

YQ: Do the parents need to know about what's happened?

T2: If it gets very bad, like I had one child in the class, we are considering having parents in, and I think they do need to come in, then the parents will know about it.

YQ: What are the parents responses then?

T2: It depends on parents. Some respond very well and some just don't take notice at all.

YQ: What do you usually do with those who behave very well?

T2: They get lots of praise. They get stickers. They get loads of certificates. And last half term, because some of them were so badly behaved, I set two targets for every child in the class, one of which (...), and by half term, we had fifteen who managed to achieve fifty targets. Then they were allowed to have something that the whole class could take part in. They chose to have a disco. We managed to get fifty targets (...), and that worked very well. Consequently they are better behaved this half term, (...) the children chose their targets last year, and they actually knew, like a couple of boys in the class, William insisted on sitting next to somebody, in the line, and just chatting all the time, which is unacceptable. So they would come up to me and said 'I'm not going to sit by so', and so we worded it on the target sheet that somebody sitting by somebody sensible. And I said, 'Well, if you can sit by your friend and be sensible and there's no problem. And that did work very well last half term.

YQ: What are the contents of the category of good behaviour, um, what do you put under the category of good behaviour?

T2: You mean what do I consider as good behaviour?

YQ: Yes.

T2: Um, it's ... getting on with their work ... without disturbing others, working quietly, that might be on their own, or it might be with a friend, or it might be in a group, presenting work neatly, doing basically the best of their ability. That's a hard one presenting it (...). If you don't, nobody does that. Last half term, I had a lot of people, who once thought that they could just mess around, you see. And I had to tell them it was unacceptable. (...)

YQ: Did you find quite often that to some children it is not enough just to be told 'What you have done is not acceptable?'

T2: Yeah, I don't, sometimes I don't, I just have to look at them and they stop. I try and do it in a joking way so that I try to get the point across. And just trying not to make it too heavy. (...)

YQ: As you said just now, there are a few children who come in from around, not from this village. Do you sometimes have to deal with a kind of situation in which children from this village unite as one...?

T2: No. No, we don't get that. Sometimes we have something that's gone on outside the village, maybe a fight somewhere in some part of the village, some of the children being against some other children in the village. So that sometimes carries on and we have to deal with that. We don't get conflicts between children outside the village. (...)

YQ: To what extent do you think it is important for us teachers to teach the children to behave well?

T2: Well, if they don't behave well at school, this school, they are not going to behave well in the secondary school, they're not going to behave well as adults.

...

YQ: This is a small community, what kind of situation of the secondary school will they be in?

T2: It will be a great deal bigger. And there are 11 Year 6s in my class and they're going to go into the large secondary school with over a thousand children. But we are all on the same line where behaviour is concerned. They will all have to work quietly and get on ... not steal, not punch and kick. If they lie, they get into more trouble than they tell the truth. We all do this. This is the same in this side of the school or in somewhere like (...).

YQ: Do you teachers sometimes exchange your views?

T2: Not on behaviour, no.

YQ: in any terms, like pedagogy or something.

T2: Yeah. We get together in subject areas and talk about what we've done and what worked well in subject areas. And then they get together as a whole staff, so all the staff get together like we've got one on Monday. And we talk about one aspect of an area and sort out what works well in all that aspect. But I've never known it done for behaviour.

YQ: You just do it according to your own experience or...?

T2: I think ... because we all know what is acceptable behaviour. I don't know what behaviour is acceptable where you come from.

YQ: China.

T2: China. Well, what is acceptable behaviour in China?

YQ: Almost the same. I would have thought it was the same.

T2: And we expect children to line up in straight lines. We expect the children to walk in a single file from the classroom to the hall. ... We expect children to be tidy. They have their own trays. We expect certain things to go into their trays. This will vary from teacher to teacher. And certain books are kept separately.

YQ: As it is drawing near to Christmas, do you have any plans for celebrating Christmas?

T2: We have a Carol service in church. We have a children's party and we have a Christmas dinner. You see, the children here, most of them and most of their parents,

(...) they are not church goers particularly. We are a church school. And the vicar comes in.

...

YQ: Oh, I think we've had a very good talk and thank you very much.

T2: You're welcome.

Appendix 2-3

A conversation with Mrs DN, E-School 2
in break time, 4 Dec.1998

School 2
Teacher: Mrs DN
Time: 10.10am, 4 Dec.1998
Place: Classroom

(At 10.00am, the class all went to the morning assembly for practising singing. Mrs Nicholas and I came back to the classroom where she showed me some of the children's project files.)

...

T2: ...so therefore, they've produced really quite good projects, you know.

YQ: So what exactly do you want them to do with the project?

T2: The project is a comparative one. We've been looking at something that happened in 1930s and how it's changed over the years to the present days. It's written out on the picture booklet. The contents, the design... CL is very good at this. She's not at school today though. CT's off school today. I've got two sisters, Amy and CL. CL is the one who was very upset yesterday. Her parents are just going to divorce. And I think that's why they are not here today. I think, if I am right, Dad is actually moving out this weekend. So their whole life (...). I don't know where CT's is.

YQ: I saw her crying yesterday.

T2: She did cry a couple of times. I don't know what that was about. I was more concerned with AM and CL. I ended up taking CL up to the Church because she was

supposed to go the church but she didn't want to go. So life is very difficult for them... What I wanted them to do is I, most of the children have got the access to the computer. So I wanted them to do things on the computer, either at school or at home. Hand written stuff and diagrams and pictures. CL has done it very well. She drew pictures on computer, photocopied and scanned photos. And the texts are all well written...'

This is another Y5, JR. JR is a special needs boy, who can barely read and write. It's a modern house like in 1930's. So he's nearly done it. For JR, that's fantastic. That must have taken JR amazing amount of time (She speaks with a stressed tone on 'amazing amount'.). So, he's nearly finished and he's basically, in fact, he doesn't actually need to do a front cover. He just needs to put the title on here. You know, for him, that was excellent.

YQ: What will happen to JR at the end of Y6?

T2: At the end of Year 6, he will go to secondary school. He won't stay here. He's a statemented child. He will go on to secondary school with the statement. He will go to a special class at the secondary school, where there are other children who have the same problems as him. And he'll carry on going through the school systems by that.'

YQ: It is different in China. If you fall behind and can't catch up with the other, you will have to stay in, say, Y5 for another year.

T2: Doesn't that affect the children's morale, though? That's not always the child's fault, though. Like in JR's case, he was born like it. It's not his fault that he's slow. He's just slow and he's always slow.

... (Children come in from the assembly and Mrs DN leaves for the staff room for coffee.)

Appendix 2-4

Interview with Mrs TB, E-School 3

13th Nov.1998, 12.30pm, in the classroom, England

Key:

T3: the interviewee

YQ: the interviewer

... : pause

(...): inaudible

YQ: Could you please first tell me a bit about the class backgrounds.

T3: This class?

YQ: Yeah.

T3: There are thirty-one children. One child is new to the country. She came here from Ukraine, Russia, just in summer. There's a second child, who also is from Ukraine, but she came here a year ago. The new child, her English is very limited at the moment. So she's beginning to learn English. The child who's been here for a year now is very fluent in English. They're a mixed ability class. They're all the same age. They're all ten years olds, mixed ability. And a range of backgrounds. Some of them come from single parent families and some of them come from two parent families. A range of their backgrounds in terms of the professions of their parents, etc. So it's quite a mixed ...class.

YQ: How many boys then?

T3 There are 22 boys, and 9 girls.

YQ: What are the subjects learn?

T3: They do all subjects. They do English, maths and science, and IT, which is using computer, and history and geography, and RE - religious education, design and technology, art, music, and PE.

YQ: How many hours do they have a day in school?

T3: Well, they begin school at 8.55 until 10.30, and they have a break, and then from 10.50 to 12.15. And then they have lunch. And then from 1.15 to 2.45. And then from 3.00 to 3.30.

YQ: You mentioned earlier that there are two girls from Ukraine and Russia, how many different ethnic groups do they all come from then?

T3: We have children whose parents are Italian, Polish, Russian, mixed race – I think his dad is an Africa Caribbean, um, French.

YQ: How many years have you been with Year 6 now?

T3: This is my second year.

YQ: How long have you been teaching then?

T3: This is my 8th year.

YQ: As this is a class of different ethnic groups, I am very interested to know how you normally deal with this kind of situation, I mean they have their own culture of family background?

T3: (Some pupils come in, she tells them to be quick and quiet.)

(Noise of footsteps and moving chairs)

...

T3: (Ok, KR, hurry please! MK, close the door please!). This is KR, who's from Ukraine.

...

T3: (T3 returns) Ok.

YQ: That's a question that relates to their daily life in school and how they get along with each other.

T3: They get along quite well. I don't find that the different backgrounds in this particular class are very much a problem. You know, the children tend to mix quite well each other. They mix quite well and it doesn't seem to be any particular problems. The only problems they do have tend to be due to their different personality rather than their backgrounds, you know.

YQ: Do you have any specific methods used to acknowledge their good behaviour?

T3: Oh, yeah. We have house points for good behaviour, charted there. They obviously get praise if they do something well. If they do some good work, or they do a job, they help somebody, then they are given a house point, a good mark and they put the mark on the chart. And then at the end of each half term, we, in this class, we give a prize for the top three boys and top three girls. Each class does it slightly differently. Some classes, the whole class will get rewards if they all behave. So we all do the rewards slightly differently, but we all have house points.

YQ: I'd like to know a bit more about the house points you mentioned just now.

T3: In English schools, this is a...it tends to be old English schools, the private schools. They would have what's called a house, and that's a group of children. Ok, and you belong to one of the houses in the school. And sometimes the houses would have a name. It might be a name after a famous musician or something like this. So you might have Elgar House, Mozart House, etc. And sometimes it's a colour. This is something we just, the house points are just carried on. So we don't have, it's not like

the old houses they have in the boarding schools. So we call it The House Points. So we have yellow, red, blue and green. And the children belong to a particular colour. So the children who are in the yellow house up there, Henry, Michael, etc., they've in the yellow since they came to school. So they start off in the yellow and they stay in the yellow all the way through. It's like a team.

YQ: Yeah. That reminds me of something when my daughter was here. On the sports day,

T3: That's right. They wear their colour. (To a boy at the door: Come in Christian, please.) Sorry.

T3: So through the year, in each class, each class has a chart, similar to this (To some a couple of boys coming in: Boys quick! No. Omar, quick!

YQ: So everybody earns points for the group.

T3: They earn them individually, but as well as for the group. So (bringing me to the chart), so on here this is their individual points. And then we add them up at the end of the year we all add it up for the house. On a sports day, when they run the race, they earn points for their house. When they win a race, they earn 3 points for the house.

(...)

YQ: What do you do with the group who has the highest points?

T3: They win the Cup.

(...)

T3: Each half term, the best three win a prize, and then at the end of the year, they have the sports day, when they run and earn the points for the house, not just for themselves, ok.

YQ: Any rules that deal with their misbehaviour?

T3: You mean like punishments?

YQ: Yeah.

T3: Punishments sometimes in this classroom, because we have extra space, they might be told to go and work in the back room.

YQ: What kind of work they are told to do then?

T3: (Laughing) when they're doing their work, if they are doing their English, they're talking when they are not supposed to talk. They might be told to go and work back there by themselves, away from their friends. Sometimes you might send them to another classroom if they misbehave. So you say 'You go and take your work to anther classroom.' And they go to another classroom and sit in that classroom to finish their work.

YQ: So what do you intend to achieve by sending the kids to another classroom?

T3: Away from their friends. So they take their work with them and they have their work.

YQ: It's like a kind of isolation.

T3: Yeah. But you can not send the child, I couldn't send them to go outside the door because they have to be in a room with a teacher. So sometimes if they are being cheeky or doing something wrong, you might say 'Take your work and go to SP's

class for ten minutes.' You see, or 'Take your work and go to Mrs M's class for ten minutes.'

YQ: If they have a child...

T3: Yeah. They might send a child here. So sometimes they bring a child here and say 'Can he sit here for ten minutes?'

YQ: Do they sit among the children?

T3: Sometimes they sit amongst the children in the classroom. Sometimes they come and sit on the carpet, you know, on the floor. So sometimes it is used, um, if you have a child, who has become very angry. Sometimes you would use it to (to a boy coming in: Quick, GR!) You would send them to calm down. So you take him away so that they have time to clam down before they come back to the class.

YQ: So it is used to calm a child down.

T3: Sometimes it is to let them calm down. Sometimes it would be as a punishment. It would be, you know, you are not behaving in the classroom and you go away to another classroom.

YQ: So what can we expect from that punishment then?

T3: Well, the children do not like to be sent to another class because if a child is sent to my class, they come in here, then the other children will know that they have been sent here because they've been naughty. So they will look 'Ah! [a facial expression]'. (Laugh) So it's embarrassing for the child to be sent to another class. They also, um, we would speak to parents if they are not good. So we also speak to parents if they were not working properly or if they were very badly behaved. They would be sent to Headmaster.

YQ: So this sort of punishment helps them to behave.

T3: Yeah. If they are in the playground, playing and they misbehaved, they have to come and stand up on the top the steps. Sometimes it may be five minutes. So they're not allowed to play with their friends. So if they were fighting or if they were, um, or if they did something wrong in the playground, they might have to come and stand, so like a time away, time out from their friends as a punishment.

YQ: OK. Um, can you say something about activities within your teaching that help the children to be aware of good behaviour?

T3: We sometimes talk about having respect for other people and respect for other people's things. So you do not go at somebody else's things without asking first. So sometimes you will just talk about this or somebody does something. If somebody came in and went somebody else's pencil case, you would say 'Do not touch other people's things without their permission.' You know, you do not go into their drawers without their permission. You know, you have respect for other people's property. Um, we talk about bullying, you know, thinking about how other people feel, and having respect for other people. And imagine what you would feel if you were the person who was being picked on, you know, we have to talk about this. And just really trying to encourage better behaviour, you know, praise children for behaving rightly, reminding them sometimes if they say something, you might remind them, to say Please, to show the manners and so on.

YQ: How do you praise somebody who behaves well, apart from the house point?

T3: Sometimes it would be praise in front of the class, you might get them, you know, they did a piece of good work, you might read it to the class and say this is a wonderful piece of work. You might if they've done one well-written piece of poem,

say, he took it to show some other classes. Sometimes they would take good pieces of work to some other classes to show. Sometimes they would take good pieces of work to Headteacher. You might say 'That's really good. Go and show Mr ML. And that sort of thing.

YQ: According to your experience of teaching, are the children aware that they should show respect to other children' different habits of dress, food, etc.?

T3: I think they are aware if it. They know they should show respect. I think they sometimes forget to do it. So I think it's not they don't know, they do know. But I think sometimes they forget. And I think what also happens to children is that sometimes as a group by beginning to make fun, it starts off as a joke, but to the person who is the victim, it's not funny. You know, so I think sometimes this is what happens. And I think that's a general thing for children, you know, one person might say something, somebody else laughs, somebody else enjoys it. And then quite quickly you could have, you know, one person here, and three or four here laughing. Thinking this person thinks it's funny as well, but this person doesn't think it's funny and goes home very upset. Because sometimes the person who's being laughed at, may not show they are upset. They might sort of laugh, they might even join the laughter, you know, to fit in. But then they go home hurt by what's been said. So I think they do understand, I think sometimes they forget.

YQ: if things happen like that, what do we do then?

T3: Oh, we deal with it. If we know it, we'll deal with it. Last year it was slightly different to this class. Last year we had a bigger mix of ethnic backgrounds than this year. Because last year there were two Asian boys. I can't remember what their names were. Four children who were African Caribbean, or mixed race background. There

was a bigger range of children's different backgrounds last year. And we used to have discussions about racism and prejudice. You know, the children would tell each other their experiences. So one of the Asian boys whose family had actually been the victims of racial attacks. They had things painted on walls near their home. And he was able to tell other children about this and let them know what they don't like. You know, and how he walked down the road with his mum, and some teenage boys shouted across 'Paki', and how he was really hurt because they were assaulting his mother. And then we were able to talk about it in class because I think sometimes children need to feel the experience of somebody they know because (...) it doesn't mean anything. But last year I felt that meant something to them because this boy was their friend. He had been hurt and his mum who they liked had been hurt. So they then saw the relevance of, you know, if you were in the street to call somebody names, how much it can affect somebody else.

YQ: Just get them to feel that.

T3: Yeah. But they were quite good because then somebody else whose parents were Italian then joined in. He was actually a boy who might sometimes be called names. And then he joined in and said his mum was sometimes called names, because they were Italian. You know, people call them, I can't remember that, Dagos or something, you are named, you know, a derogatory about (...). And then somebody else joined in and said 'sometimes people call me such and such thing,' you know, and then he got down to even things like 'sometimes people make fun of me because I'm fat,' and 'sometimes people make fun of me because I wear glasses.' And it began to mean, you know, something real to them. If you insult somebody else, or even if you make fun of somebody else who you don't mean to insult, you do it as a bit of fun, you can

still hurt them. So we had quite good discussion. We sometimes do things in RE, related to treating everybody with respect.

YQ: Does that mean you organise the discussion on purpose?

T3: Yeah. Sometimes it happens because of an incident. Sometimes something may happen in the playground and then you will have a discussion because something has happened. And sometimes it will be part of the lesson you planned because it is part of the RE work you are going to do. So it can happen in two ways. Sometimes it happens just incidentally because you know on a particular occasion something might happen. Another type might be part of the work you are doing.

YQ: As you know, this research focuses on Year 6, how do you find it is important for us Year 6 teachers to help the children be aware of behaving well.

T3: I think it's very important. I think even younger, I think all the way through, particularly before they move on to secondary school, you know, this is the last year of primary school. Because I feel when they go to secondary school, it tends to be, this is a very general comment, that when children become adolescence, you know, in their teenage years, you get a lot more on intimidation and, or at least the intimidation becomes stronger. It may have been there when they were younger. So you may have a child at this age who calls somebody else a name, ok. But when they get to be a teenager, 15 or 16 year old boy, they may then carry it on, they don't only call somebody a name, but they hit them or they get a gang together and then, do you see what I mean, and it can become a more frightening thing or it can become a stronger opinion. I think at this stage you can still help to change their ideas.

YQ: Ok. I think this is a very helpful talk. Thank you so much for this.

T3: That's ok.

Appendix 2-5

Interview with Mr HS, E-School 4

12th November 1998, 12.45pm, in the headteacher's office, England

Key:
T4: the interviewee
YQ: the interviewer
... : pause
(...): inaudible

No detailed transcripts due to T4's rejection to recording

(Mr HS was 12 minutes late for the interview. Chapter III explains how this surprise made it so difficult for the novice researcher whose mother tongue is not English to make detailed notes during an interview.)

Notes for the Interview with Mr HS (E-School 4)

[The interview was taking place in the headteacher's office. Mr HS was 12 minutes late and the headteacher helped find him to the interview. I asked him if he would mind my recording the interview and he replied calmly that he might. When I asked if I could record lessons and take pictures, he said he would ask the headteacher [later, before the observation, his reply came as 'no recording of lessons because of possible rejection from parents but photos can be taken in the school'].

...

YQ: Could you please give a brief introduction to the class?

T4: 10/11 year olds; 18 boys and 9 girls, usually more girls in a class, an unusual group. I have been with them for more than 5 years [since Year 1]. Influence of boys over girls. Dynamic. Wide ability range. Some are very able, some are weak, not equal, challenge to teacher. They come from different parts of the city, from different backgrounds.

YQ: How do you cope with this situation of the class?

T4: I can't cope with that because they have different needs. Children from poor backgrounds are determined and quick thinking but they need security, love and to be valued; those from good backgrounds are lazy. You need to enable them all to have self esteem.

YQ: Could you give some examples of how you help them build up self esteem?

T4: Examples? Not at this stage. If you go to the class, you'll be seeing it.' Like respect, children follow our example. You know you are trained all the time...For me, I'm Christian, the guiding principle is the Christian ethics, how to behave to each other...

YQ: Then what are the principles in the classroom?

T4: See if you come across.

...

[This was a school where I would have least expected to be refused of recording since my daughter goes to this school. The refusal of recording upset my plan and threw my thinking into confusion, I didn't realise I forgot to raise questions regarding encouragement and punishment until T4 and I were waiting outside the Year 6 classroom to visit the class when an art lesson was going on.]

...

YQ: How do you do with their good behaviour and misbehaviour?

T4: In terms of good behaviour, you may give a praise to someone alone; you may praise a child within a small range or in front of the class, or give a sticker or a certificate, or in the school assembly, but it just depends. Because for some children, a blink of eyes or a 'Well done' is enough. Some children may not like to be praised in public, which may make them embarrassed or upset.

...

[When we entered the classroom, T4 introduces me to the group of 4 girls sitting near the door, 'This is Mr Qi, Feifei's dad. He's here to watch how you work with the model tank. Can you explain to him what you are doing.' T4 then left and so did the interview.]

Appendix 2-6

Interview with Mrs SJ, C-School 1

28th Dec.1998, 9.30am, in the office, China

Key:

T1: the interviewee

YQ: the interviewer

... : pause

(...): inaudible

(T1 introduces me to her colleagues)...

T1: This is my desk. Please take the seat opposite.

YQ: OK. Thank you! Shall we just have a chat?

T1: Yeah, OK.

YQ: Can you first make a general introduction to your class, such as the pupils' family backgrounds?

T1: All right. I think most of the parents are well educated themselves and many of them are government functionaries or office workers.

YQ: How many pupils do you have in the class?

T1: 56. It is relatively a small class, comparing to other three parallel classes of 60 or even up to over 70. Like the teacher you just met, she has 73 pupils in her class.

YQ: I am afraid it could be so crowded that it would be difficult for the children to stand up when they need to stand up to answer questions.

T1: Yes, it is the case. She/he can just bend a bit forward at the waist as a sign of standing up. They all know it is impossible to stand up straight.

YQ: Among the 56 children, how many girls are there?

T1: 27, not many fewer than boys.

YQ: I saw two Uyghur girls when I just came up the stairs. Do you have any pupils who come from different cultural backgrounds in your class?

T1: Yes, we do. We have a pupil from the Uyghur nationality, two from the Hui nationality and one from the Man nationality.

YQ: How do you get to know about their family backgrounds? Through visiting their families or talking with the pupils?

T1: At the very beginning, each of them was given a form, requiring the parents to fill in their names, work places, education received, home contact addresses and telephone numbers, etc., very basic information. Later on, you would know better through talking to the children themselves or talking with the parents when seeing them around.

YQ: How often do you see the parents in a term and on what occasions? Is it when you have a parents' meeting or something?

T1: Regularly twice a term. More often, the parents may want to see me or I invite them to school.

YQ: Do you sometimes have to pay home visits?

T1: To be honest with you, I've never done any.

YQ: Is it because you don't have the time?

T1: It doesn't seem to be necessary. Only when a child had really bad conduct and the parents wouldn't come to school, did you have to go to visit them at their home. But it has rarely happened.

YQ: When the parents see you at school, do they make any inquiries on their own initiative about their children?

T1: Parents of less able children wouldn't. Normally parents of those children at the middle-upper level would always eagerly talk to you, but no more than some simple courtesy communication, asking 'Is my child good recently?' or 'Ah, Teacher, is my son still doing fine?' When I tell them 'Still fine' or 'Quite good', their expectation is satisfied and they look very happy. So they like to ask you about their children.

YQ: You said earlier that you had some pupils from minority nationalities in your class. It is actually a cultural setting of multi-nationalities. How are they getting on with each other?

T1: Apparently they get on with each other in harmony, but I notice that when occasionally they [pupils from the mainstream culture, the Han nationality] may say something bad about the minority nationality in small conflicts, but there is no discrimination.

YQ: But when a minority child gets hurt because of a small conflict, how do they respond then?

T1: Sometimes they turn to me on a quiet, saying something like 'So and so swore at me and I feel very bad.' And sometimes they tell their parents and the parents will come to see me about it when they come to the school for a parents' meeting. That is that.

YQ: When a child came to report to you on his/her own about a conflict in which s/he was hurt, how would you deal with it?

T1: I would call in the offender and give a severe criticism. Then I would tell the offender to apologise to the offended in front of me and next ask both sides if it is

settled. By then they would both say 'Yes.' They become friends again like before. That is it. After all, children are always children.

YQ: Do you normally criticise them as a punishment when they don't behave as well as you expect?

T1: Normally I deal with them by the method of persuasion and education, especially with those who usually behave very well, and sometimes they may either be touched or frightened to tears, which I think is the effect of the profound educational lesson that s/he will never forget. As to those who repeatedly make mistakes, there are only four or five in the class.

YQ: What do you do with them then?

T1: Still use the main strategy of encouragement. I don't see any other effective ways for this moment, and just keep on encouraging them.

YQ: Then do you use the same method or whatever else to treat good behaviour or 'good people and good deeds'?

T1: In addition to praise and encouragement, I also use red flowers, physical prizes and merit certificates as rewards. But more often, I orally praise them. However, I have another strategy for some good pupils. In some particular cases, if you always praise her/him, s/he may be spoiled and think that s/he is just more capable than others are, which does not benefit her/his healthy growth. Therefore, instead of praise, I sometimes on an appropriate occasion deliberately and tactfully give her/him a scolding for something like an assignment not as well done as usual, though it is still good. But in the case of a less able child, as soon as there is a sign of any progress in the performance or an improved assignment, I always make the best of the

opportunity to encourage the child by praising her/him in front of the whole class or, if it's a good piece of assignment, showing the work to the class in turn.

YQ: Having said that, is it possible that the less able children are given different or easy work?

T1: It is impossible. I think that teachers' time and energy are the main problems. If we had fewer pupils and a stronger sense of responsibility, we could have already done it. The teachers often pick up this topic and we all agree that if teachers worked harder and had a stronger sense of responsibility, those less able pupils wouldn't be that bad.

YQ: As it is generally advocated to 'both impart knowledge and educate people', what do you think are important in teaching in terms of educating people as pupils of Year 6?

T1: I think patriotism, morality, hard work and plain living, respect for the old and love of the young, mutual help, fraternal unity, etc. are very important. The education of these ideological moral characters comes from every subject, especially from the Chinese Language. If you give an Open Lecture*1 and don't cover a theme of morality, your lecture won't be a successful one.

YQ: This is one of the criteria of success measurement, isn't it?

T1: Yes. In our daily teaching you know clearly what you should teach the pupils and what influences you should try to uplift on them, and all must be positive and progressive.

YQ: What about those subjects like Maths?

T1: It's the same. During the lesson, you will have the opportunity to involve that in your teaching now and then, and at least that is already designed and permeated in the

practical exercises. Teachers of all subjects are expected to do so and the main part of the task is supposed to be undertaken in the lessons of the Chinese Language, through the Class meeting and in the process of your dealing with various conflicts and problems.

[It was coming to the end of the interview and I tried to finish the talk by moving to a relaxing but relevant topic.]

YQ: Do you normally assign them any homework?

T1: Yes. But recently I've designed one special piece of homework, which is named Diary Selection. They are supposed to report to me every day on their Chinese exercise-books, following the routinely assigned lesson related work, what s/he has done today, such as reading a book, watching the news on TV, reading a newspaper, helping parents with housework, etc. They must tell me briefly what it is and what her/his afterthoughts are.

There are two aims of doing this small project. One is that they can collect materials for their practice of composition writing, which is always a difficult point for them. Then they will select one good piece from the material collected during the week for a weekly diary on Monday. With the help and supervision of the teacher, the diary will be developed into a weekly composition. The other aim is that through their reports, I can get the first-hand information about what they do every day after school, when they are all out of the school and out of my sight. I choose some reports and read to the class in my lesson the following day.

YQ: What kind of reports do you normally choose to read to the class then?

T1: Generally they are some typical 'good people and good deeds'. For example, someone does not pocket the money or things of good value s/he picks up or s/he

helps grandparents with shopping especially now in winter when it is piercingly cold and icy and slippery everywhere. When I read the chosen reports, I don't have to comment much and a simple word like 'lofty moral character' or 'kind and considerate' will be enough. So far, it has been very useful and effective and I tell myself my efforts have paid off.

YQ: Oh, it's really amazing. Thank you very much for your time and for this fruitful talk.

T1: You're welcome.

*1. An Open Lecture is a presentation of a lesson by a teacher or a model teacher who is well known for excellent quality and effective methods of teaching and is honourably appointed by the head teacher or the local education authority to perform the teaching to her/his own pupils, or occasionally to pupils in a different school, with colleagues, fellow teachers from other schools or other places and education officials present observing it for the purpose of discussion, emulation and exchange of teaching skills and experience.

Appendix 2-7

Interview with Mrs LD, C-School 2

21st Dec. 1998, 11.15am, in the office, China

Key:

T2: the interviewee

YQ: the interviewer

... : pause

(...): inaudible

YQ: Could you please first briefly tell me a bit about the class?

T2: There are 70 pupils in this class, 7 of whom are from families of minority nationalities.

YQ: What are the minority nationalities?

T2: They are Uyghur, Kazakh and Hui nationalities. They have been receiving primary education in the school for the Han children. In this class, I think the children are very active in class. This may be due to my constantly encouraging them to win honour for and do credit to the group they belong. So they all try to get the floor in class and outdo the others so that they can earn points for their group. Thus their initiatives are brought into play and they become more and more confident when they stand up to answer questions.

YQ: How many boys and girls are there in the class?

T2: Each take up 35.

YQ: This is a class of huge size. Do you have routine visits to the parents?

T2: Yes, it is the rule of the school to pay visits to the parents. Normally the class teacher visits the parents, and the parents could be invited to the school for a parents' meeting or for individual communication.

YQ: This is different from England. The class would make an appointment with each of the children's parents. The parent(s) will come to the school at the appointed time to have a 15 minute meeting with the teacher, rather than you the class teacher rush about to pay visits to children' homes, which saves the teacher lots of time and energy.

T2: I think it is because of different national conditions. We'd be very happy to work like that. But our class size may well double that of theirs. Look at these exercise-books, which always take me three lessons' time to correct. We have four lessons in the morning, but three lessons' time has to be spent in correcting these and these exercise-books will have to be returned to the children in the afternoon. Day after day, every day is the same. So I just don't have the time to talk to the parents.

YQ: But home visits may even take much more of your time.

T2: Yes. But I use my own time after work. When I finish my work at school for the day, I can go to the children's homes and visit their parents who are also at home from work. In this way, the home visits wouldn't occupy any of my work time.

YQ: This is just a different concept. As a matter of fact, you work at work time and at your own time after work.

T2: So this is the problem. No other choice. I would like to use 15 minutes of my work time to meet individual parent(s), but even if it was 5 minutes for one family, how much of my work time would be taken up for these 70 families? My schedule is very tight. I have to give lessons, correct assignments, deal with all sorts of problems

in the class and take part in the school' activities such as meetings, every thing. I just don't have the time and can't afford the time to see parents individually at work time in the school, but it is the rule to communicate with parents. So you have to sacrifice your own time after work to pay visits to the parents. Everyone of us teachers is fully devoted to the teaching and doesn't have the time to talk to parents at work in the school unless something happens to a child. Then the parent would be invited to school. I think even schools in Beijing couldn't escape this situation, let alone schools in Xinjiang.

YQ: How are the children's family backgrounds?

T2: You mean...?

YQ: I mean family situation in a general sense, such as parents or parent, social status, economic conditions, etc.

T2: I think in each class of the school, there are 4 or 5, even 7 or 8 children who come from single parent families. These children are often unsociable and eccentric, a habit formed in a long period of time. In terms of economic state, I think almost nobody comes from a family with economic difficulties because parents of these children are government officials, engineers, teachers, etc. and they all come from good sources. Some children, because of their parents' divorce or being brought up by grandparents, are extremely unsociable, and we always try to approach them and give help, and normally I make conscious efforts to approach him/her. As a female teacher, I think I may share mother love and talk to him/her. I would ask questions like 'How's your dad/mum? Where does s/he work?' If the parent happens to be a taxi driver, I would ask if it is difficult for the parent to help with his/her study and give advice on how s/he should cope with his/her study. I would also tell him/her 'If there is any problem,

whether in study or in life, come to me directly and I will certainly help you.' Sometimes a child may tell me that because his dad is too busy to pay much attention to his study, but when he fails to show his dad good examination results, his dad gives him a lesson and just beats him. Now I would say to him 'Try to understand your dad and study hard to gain satisfactory examination results. Thus although your dad is very busy with his work, how could he not be pleased to see your big progress in your study? By doing so I encourage the children and tell them to work harder. However, some children are just too naughty because their parents are divorced and as a result they are thrown to their grandparents. We all know, grandparents dote on their grandchildren and often spoil them. These children are extremely selfish, self-centred and think that everything belongs to themselves. Some even treat their grandparents as servants. Sometimes the grandpa and grandma turn to me and ask me what to do. What I do is to try every effort to co-operate with the grandparents in educating the child.

YQ: Apart from the knowledge from the books, what else do you think the children need in the process of their growth especially at the stage when they are leaving for secondary school?

T2: I think apart from the textbook knowledge, a child needs to develop a positive and enterprising spirit. As it is the time when they form their world outlook, they must have a healthy thinking. But the development of a healthy thinking relies not just the on the textbooks, but more importantly on the ideological education of lofty ideals high aspirations. Most of them cherish the ideal of becoming specialists.

YQ: Good! I believe you will be proud of them and yourself.

T2: I hope they could become specialists. But I always guide them by saying to them that whatever you want to become in the future, you must start with ordinary things now. I think the current nation wide pupils' Chuying activity is very constructive for them.

YQ: What is the Chuying activity?

T2: This activity is actually a reward system covering every aspect of their life as a pupil at school, a child at home and a member in the society. It consists of a variety of little medals for labour, helping others, self-independence, computer knowledge, etc. up to over 30 kinds, encouraging the children to strive and compete.

YQ: Are the children interested in this activity?

T2: Yes. They are particularly interested. Like self-independence, they go home and cook in order to gain the medal. This is an activity taking place all over the country. It is compared and appraised at all levels, from inter-class level to inter-school level, from provincial level to national level. I think this is a very good activity and it is more than necessary for the children's healthy growth and ideological education.

YQ: As there are 7 pupils from different ethnic groups, has there ever been any discrimination against these minority pupils?

T2: No. They all get along very well. They equally treat each other. We teachers constantly guide them and they know everyone is the same, no difference in this large family of the class.

YQ: What about the different life habits?

T2: Although we have refreshments in the middle of the morning, the food, normally eggs, nibbles or snacks, is of Muslim style, and it is accepted by the parents of the Muslim children.

YQ: There are 70 pupils in your class, I understand, is it a bit too crowded? Why not divided into two classes?

T2: In theory, it can be divided into two. The official class size is 45 children, but now we have 70, 25 too many.

YQ: It is obvious that your workload is one third heavier or extra. How do you feel about it, especially you get the same pay?

T2: It is true that the salary is not a penny more while I pay too much labour. In my opinion, as all Shiyan schools of this kind like ours in Urumqi are the same. They all have large class size, larger than it is officially allowed, whereas other ordinary schools may have a class size of 30 or even as few as 25. I think the large size of my class implies that so many children (in fact, the parents of these children try all efforts to send them here) have chose our school because we enjoy a good reputation of excellent teaching quality. And we teachers are just like what we are described of the burning candle, sacrifice itself to illuminate others. But do we have complaints? Yes, we do. Who wouldn't like to get a better pay, let alone you are working too much? But we accept it, we accept the current pay as for the job, not for the work. We must do the job well and try my best and it is my responsibility to teach the children well, although day in and day out, you work so hard, at the end of the day you walk home, exhausted. Complaint is complaint, and the following day, as ever, you step into the classroom, full of vigour. I always feel that I can't treat the children unfairly, I can't fail them. I think you choose to be my student because you have trust on me and the parents have trust on me, and in return for this, I should be responsible for you. However hard, I will try all my best to teach them well. Fortunately the leaders of the school understand how hard we are working and appreciate our work. So hard as it is, we are pleased and feel warm inside. This is how I feel.

YQ: Another question is, as they have a subject called Morality Education, how significant do you think this is for the children at this stage of their life?

T2: I think the children are imitating the teacher, whatever you say and do. But every word and deed of the teacher takes up only one third of what they learn. The growth of a child is affected by three aspects: school, family and society. So far, they have received positive education from school, and it is inevitable they are influenced by the society. Christmas is coming and I told the children to ask you how they are going to celebrate it. Because it is a foreign festival and you just came from England. They are very excited about it.

T2: Let me go back to the three influential aspects: school, family and society. As a matter of fact, parents are their first teachers. While we are giving positive education, the children are imitating the teacher in terms of studying and behaving. The school and teachers are the key aspect, but more important is the class teacher. The word and deed of the class teacher directly and immediately affect the children because the class teacher stays with them every day.

YQ: Besides the Chuying medals, do you have any other reward methods for good behaviour?

T2: Red flower stickers. They get a red flower for being kind, helping others, caring for people repairing stationery tools or chairs for others, and something like that. The red flower goes to the Red Flower Roll. By the end of the year, those who get the most red flowers will naturally become the honourable 'Three-Excellence Pupils'.

YQ: Is it not through the class collective selection/

T2: We look at the number, and also the kinds, of flowers which are the proof of your overall behaviour since they include study, discipline, caring for the collective,

helping others, not pocketing the money or valuable items that one picks up and so on. They cover the requirements of the 'Three-Excellence Pupils': Sixiang Hao, Xuexi Hao, and Shenti Hao (Excellent ideology, excellent study and excellent health). But the aspect of ideology is the most important. No matter how well you behave at the other two aspects, if you are not convincingly good in ideology, I wouldn't give him/her the honour of 'Three-Excellence Pupil', because your ideology dominates all your behaviour.

YQ: How do you deal with children who don't behave?

T2: Normally, I talk to them individually, they are grown up now and they have reasoning. I do ideological work, explaining where s/he is wrong, how it is wrong so that s/he comes to an understanding. I don't punish them and I never feel I want to punish them, severely punish those who don't behave. Some teachers may tell them to copy the Chinese texts in the book as a punishment, or standing (at his/her seat in class) for up to a whole morning, the time for all the four lessons. So how you teat the children is the way you are treated. The children do respect me, so I have never thought of taking whatever measures to punish them. On very rare occasions, I pay a visit to the parents at their home and ask parents for co-operation. This might be the extreme example of my dealing with misbehaviour.

YQ: One last question. We talked a bit about it earlier, but I'd like to know a little more about the importance in your point of view of the Morality Education to children of Year 6?

T: I think children of this age at this stage seem to be still dim about morals or values or whatever. They won't be able to be aware of values or outlook on life until they are in secondary schools. To them now it is a concept difficult to understand.

YQ: OK, Teacher Li, it is a very good and interesting talk. Thank you very much for this.

T2: You are welcome.

Appendix 2-8

Interview with Mrs LJ, C-School 3

23rd Dec.1998, 10.30am, in the headteacher's office, China

Key:

T3: the interviewee

YQ: the interviewer

... : pause

(...): inaudible

YQ: Teacher Liu, could you first tell me something about the class, a brief introduction to the class and the pupils' family backgrounds?

T3: OK. At the beginning of this academic year, there were 39 pupils in this class, about 15 boys and 24 girls and later, one child transferred to another school. So now we have 38 children. This class size is the smallest one in the school. They all have over 50 or at least over 40 children in their classes. More than 20 children are from this village, and others are those who came out of admiration for this school from different areas as far as from Ili, 700 km away from here. I think we enjoy a good reputation of good teaching quality within the range of rural area. We even have a child who lives in the city of Urumqi. I wondered why this child comes so far from the city and there are schools around the area where the child lives. He told me he likes the school and he has been in this school and with his friends since Year 2. So He'd rather leave home very early for school and returns home very late because it's quite a distance from his home to the school. There is something particular about this child. His parents got divorced and he lives with her mother in her parents' home. His mother is a textile worker in the No.7 textile factory and father is a steel worker in the

Bayi Steel Plant. His parents are from different minority nationalities. His father is Uygur nationality and mother, Hui. In this class, there are relatively more children whose parents are divorced. Another case is a boy, Maliang. After his parents got divorced, he has been living with his dad, who's a taxi driver. But his dad has been taking drugs and his mother, who runs a small shop, has got the boy under her care. This boy is very intelligent but extremely naughty. Every time, while everybody is already seated in their seats, he looks through the crack of the door to see and inform the class if the teacher is coming. And he also likes eating nibbles in class. Last night, his mother just rang me up and asked if her child behaves now and if he still has nibbles in class. And she left her telephone number to me and said that I could telephone her at any time. There's another girl, who's quite a good and obedient child. Her parents also...There are many children from minority nationalities. And the majority of these are from the Hui nationality. In fact, most of the children in this class are Hui children. One child is Kazakh. Only 14 pupils are the Han children. So it is class of three different nationalities. Children in this class are very active, especially now when it is near to the end of year. They are very excited and exchange greeting cards. Just recently I wanted everyone of them to invest 10 Yuan on books in spite of the many boos we have in the reading room. Every Thursday they pass their books round. My daughter is in this class as well. I learned from my daughter that these children are exchanging cards. When she went with her cousin, she saw many of her classmates were buying greeting cards and she has already received many cards. I suggested that they make cards themselves. You could practise your skills in doing this and save money as well. They reflected their ideas in their diaries. They think this will be the last New Year's Day in their primary school and it's worth spending a bit of money on cards to classmates. They particularly cherish the friendship between

themselves. To celebrate the New Year's Day, the school has required two performances from each class. I left it completely to the girl in charge of culture and entertainment and I said you yourselves arrange this and do it yourselves. They practised in the break time at noon and after school.

YQ: You mentioned earlier that a child's parents were divorced. How are children with such a family background treated in this case?

T3: I didn't know much about him at first and I knew something later from his mother. He was ill for some time and although I couldn't take time to see him because of too much work, I sent the class monitor and another child who live near him to visit him at home after school and take one hour to help make his lessons up. As a result, he has made up all the missed lessons and the parent was so grateful for this. This boy is very clever but very naughty. He often plays tricks on other children and I warned him if this happened again I would not want him in my class any more. I just give him a warning so that he can be aware of his behaviour. This child is a real typical naughty one. He used to be in a city school and was excluded because of being too naughty and troublemaker. Later on, he was admitted into this school. He was once too troublesome that I was even thinking of really getting him out of the class, out of this school. But I couldn't do that. He's only a child and as a teacher I have the responsibility to help him and educate him. So I have been particularly patient to him, and whenever he doesn't behave I talk to him; whenever he makes progress I praise him in the class. He's a very bright boy, but his parents' divorce had great impact on him.

YQ: How do you deal with those children who may fail to do his homework, play truant or be late for school?

T3: Children who are late for school receive warnings and criticism; Missed assignments will have to be made up in a given time; And there is one thing recently. The Muslim Ramadan has just started and I learned that 8 of those Hui children are having a fast. 3 boys and 5 girls. On the first day of Ramadan the headteacher informed all the teachers to tell the children not to have the fast because they are at the time of physical development. But these 8 children still did it. I had a talk with them and I asked them if any one of them knew why they needed to have a fast. Six of them didn't know. I explained to them why they are not advised to have a fast. It is because they are too young, especially at the age of 12 or 13, when they are physically developing. Moreover, one of the girls has a serious stomach problem and she lives in her uncle's home. This girl looks very thin and weak. She's in such a health condition at this age and if she gets thinner, what will happen then? I talked to her about this and told her if she went on with the fast it would be hard to imagine what would happen to your health at the end of the month of fast. These eight children accepted what I said. So I said, 'As you all seemed to have agreed, we'll see from tomorrow on if there will be fewer of you continue with the fast.' Today I will see to it and continue with this job.

YQ: Will the children's families reject to this?

T3: There is a possibility, but the parents may not come to the school to reject to this. They may possibly say something at home, I told the children, I am Hui myself and the headteacher herself is Hui as well. In this point, we teachers lead not to take a fast, thus it makes it more acceptable and convincing when we ask the children not to. I have a stomach problem in the first place and the work of teaching doesn't suit a fast because you have to teach all day and if you are not full of energy how can you teach well. I explained to the class it might be ok for them to stand a morning when they sit

there listening to the teachers, but in the afternoon they have to take part in sorts of activities, especially in PE, what they do is only the long distance running, 3 kilometres long, how can they make it? What if they fainted or collapsed? They seemed to have accepted what I said. After all they are your pupils and listen to you, but as for what the parent s are thinking and reacting to this we are going to hold a parents' meeting and communicate with them. We will explain to them that we all have to pay attention to the health of the children and we have done this only in the interests of their physical health. I think they will understand.

YQ: As the children are from different ethnic groups and different family backgrounds, do they sometimes have sort of conflicts?

T3: Yes. This is normal as they are all children, but not because of their different backgrounds.

YQ: Teacher Liu, can you say something about how you deal with their good behaviour such as showing respect for teachers, helping others or making progress in study?

T3: We give a red flower as a reward for a good deed for the class or the school, for five excellent assignments in succession, for an excellent unit test and for a praise about excellent one day duty of keeping the classroom clean and tidy.

YQ: How significant are these red flowers to them?

T3: They are very well motivated and try hard and compete to gain a flower. When a child gets one flower more, s/he would be extremely excited. By the end of a term, two to three 'Three-Excellence Pupils' and a certain number of 'Excellent pupils' and 'Excellent Class Leaders' will emerge based on the amount of red flowers they have got and the red flowers cover every aspect of their performance and behaviour.

YQ: I understand that when a 'Three-Excellence Pupil' comes into being, every aspect is taken into account. But would it be possible that someone earns more flowers than others in all other aspects but fewer flowers in the aspect of study and s/he would as well be selected as a 'Three-Excellence Pupil' just because of more flowers in total?

T3: No. That has never happened. In general, when a child is good in all aspects, s/he's definitely good in study. Performance in study is a very important aspect in the selection of 'Three-Excellence Pupils', because as a pupil at school, study is the main purpose though all other aspects need to be good as well. However, study and moral character are two most important aspects.

HT: Less able children in study seem to be very good in physical labour.

T3: But red flowers gained in labour are very limited.

HT: They get praise in class meeting.

T3: S/he who's good in PE is normally good in study. Occasionally one is good in PE but not so good in study.

YQ: How do you deal with someone who doesn't respect teachers, or bully others, or damage the public property, and so on?

T3: Generally, you have to pay for the public property you damaged. If you break one window glass, you will have to ask your parents to fix it up. There's one rare case in this class. A boy named Yang Hao had been repeatedly reported of being very naughty and misbehaved. I decided to call an extra class meeting, a democratic meeting, the subject of which was criticising and helping Yang Hao. Everybody spoke at the meeting, revealing what Yang Hao had done against the rules, resulting in Yang Hao bursting into tears, which indicated that the meeting was effective. At last he

expressed his regret and agreed that if he repeated his mistakes his parents would be invited to the meeting. His father once said to me, 'Teacher Liu, if Yang Hao doesn't behave, you can beat him.' We can't beat pupils and it's forbidden. You know what, he sits in the front row, while the teacher walks down the aisle to check and help with pupils' work, he suddenly leaves his seat and follows the teacher imitating the way the teacher walks. He crossed the line too far and thus a meeting of criticism was inevitable. As a result, he really made great progress and gained Excellence for all his Unit tests and much development in his behaviour and discipline. But I am still not sure if this method is desirable and I haven't exchanged opinions with my colleagues.

YQ: Besides, as a Year 6 teacher, what do you think, in terms of quality education, is important to the children, apart from the knowledge from text-books?

T3: First of all it should be quality of conducting oneself. As these children are going to enter the society and the teachers can't always be together with them, the ability of conducting themselves in society is particularly important. Experience tells me that no matter how excellent your academic performance is if you are weak in the ability of conducting yourself you won't have the ability to adapt and survive in the society. I always let them think, say and do for themselves and later they tell me their experience. I encourage them to learn to do washing and cooking at home.

YQ: Can you give me one or two examples about what you mean the ability of conducting oneself is, very briefly?

T3: For example, when you are seated on the bus, you offer your seat to an elderly person, disabled person or a pregnant woman. This is the one of the basic standards of conducting oneself. I often tell them to respect people, especially those disabled, because we know some people in society may make fun of or make nick names for

some disabled people. I explain to them how difficult a disabled person's life could be. There's one child in the class whose father has an eye disability, but these children never tease the child. Sometimes I take incidents that happened around us as a teaching material. Sometimes it could be a report or an article in the newspaper or magazine. Sometimes we have a discussion about a film they saw and talk about their thinking and the impact on them, etc.

YQ: All right, Teacher Liu. This is a very helpful talk. Thank you so much.

T3: It's my pleasure.

Appendix 2-9

Interview with Mrs YZ, C-School 4

21st December 1998, 4.00pm, in the office, China

Key:

T4: the interviewee

YQ: the interviewer

... : pause

(...): inaudible

YQ: Shall we just have a chat?

T4: OK.

YQ: Could you first give me some ideas about the class, just a brief introduction?

T4: There are 38 pupils in this class, the smallest size in the school. In the other large classes they have as many as 68 pupils, where the children almost sit under the blackboard. Next year when I finish this circle of teaching from Year 1 to Year 6, I will have a Year 1 class of over 60 pupils, which makes me so worried.

YQ: How many boys, and girls?

T4: 20 boys and 18 girls.

YQ: What are the subjects learn?

T4: Chinese Language education, maths, Society (combination of history and geography), music, morality, art, health, physical labour, computer, PE, class meeting, and other activities.

YQ: Do you have any pupils from minority nationalities?

T4: Yes. 4 Hui pupils and 1 Mongolian pupil.

YQ: How do they get along with each other?

T4: They get along quite well. Other teachers who teach them all say they are well united. Occasionally they may fight with each other, but never because someone is a pupil from different ethnic group. Just something between classmates. This may happen everywhere.

YQ: How do you encourage pupils for good deeds and punish them for bad behaviour?

T4: Normally I am stricter with those who are more able. If a child doesn't behave in class and shows no sign of improvement after a couple of warnings, I would have a talk with him/her afterwards. I rarely name somebody in front the class. There is a girl who is mentally weak. I don't demand much of her and I give her very easy tasks so that she can find herself at least capable of doing something. On the other hand, I keep praising her for any little progress. We can't expect any more from her.

YQ: Has she been with the class since Year 1?

T4: Yes. But in the middle, the school was assigned to run an experimental Tejiaoban (a class for special needs children) for 6 or 7 children. But later, after one year, the class was withdrawn.

YQ: Why?

T4: Because it seemed that those children in the special class weren't doing any better, but even worse than they were with their original class. They were influenced by normal and more able children in the original class and they seemed better. But they got even worse when they were put in a situation where all children were all less able. As a result, it was withdrawn and all the children returned to their original classes. So I give her whatever she can do, not anything beyond her ability.

YQ: I'd like to know a bit more of the concrete methods you use to reward good deeds or punish bad behaviour.

T4: Ah, I use the Banfei [a small fund raised from the pupils themselves for daily consumption of the class, on celebration or sports events, for example] to buy some small presents such as exercise-books, pencil-cases as rewards. As to punishment, it seems that I don't have to do that. If a child doesn't behave, I would call him/her to my office and talk to him/her, although sometimes I may have to talk to him/her patiently again and again, and let the child know you are concerned about him/her.

YQ: Do you sometimes have to talk to their parents?

T4: Yes, sometimes. If a child is not well self-disciplined, and the parents fail to educate them at home, I would invite the parents to the school and talk to them. Unfortunately some of the parents are absorbed in earning money and don't take care of their children and they don't have time to care for their children's study. They just don't realise if earning money is important, then fostering your child is at least equally important. There is one boy who is very bright. He was quite good at his study, but over the last two years, he has fallen behind. I learn that his parents own a mini-bus and a taxi. They are busy with the business and leave the boy with his grandma, who looks after him and meets his needs of daily life but never studies. I have talked to the boy many a time, and I also talked to his mum and dad, but the boy doesn't seem to listen and his parents say they are too busy to take care of his study. He often fails to do his homework.

YQ: What did you do then when he didn't do his homework?

T4: I had to tell him to make it up. Sometimes he got on my nerves and he had to make it up for me.

YQ: As a Year 6 teacher, apart from knowledge from the text-book, what else do you think is important for the children at this stage in terms of educating them so that they can be accepted by and adapted in the society?

T4: I think they should know something in all aspects. I don't give them too much homework to do. So I tell them to read all kinds of books that are useful and make notes of any good phrases and sentences. Many of them have been able to do so but some haven't. This depends on their consciousness. They can read any useful books.

YQ: As for quality education, knowledge either from text-books or from other books is indeed important. But do you think is it adequate for a child who will enter the society as a person to have only knowledge from books to establish the quality?

T4: I think it's not enough. As a grown-up in the future, what they have learned from books will prove to be too little. I don't know what other teachers of this grade do, as for myself, I try my best to give them as much as possible from extra sources of supplementary teaching materials related to the subject of Chinese Language I teach besides the text-books.

YQ: OK. Do you sometimes have to deal with conflicts between the children?

T4: Yes, but often when they were in lower grades. The conflicts become fewer as they grow older.

YQ: What about now as Year 6s?

T4: Yes, not quite often though, very rarely.

YQ: Can we just take one as an example?

T4: Like one of the girls in the class, she looks a bit like an old woman. She reports to me that the boy next to her often calls her name 'Old lady'. She reported it to me last

week at the class meeting. We have a class meeting every Friday. The monitor chairs the meeting and I sit there listening. They report complaints at this time, such as so-and-so calls somebody names, had a row, and the like.

YQ: How did you respond to the girl's complaint?

T4: Because she reported to me in front of the whole class, I said to the boy, 'You are classmates and she's the same age as you. How could she become an old lady?' He lowered his head and smiled [embarrassed]. And I asked him to say something. He admitted that he called her name. 'Was it right or wrong to do so?' I asked. 'It's wrong,' he replied. I asked him how he would behave in the future and he promised not to do it again.

YQ: As they are Year 6 children and will go to secondary school soon, how significant do you think morals and values education is to them?

T4: At this age, they develop physically. As they grow up, they begin to pick up some bad behaviour like smoking. I warn them in the class that many people are giving up smoking because it's harm to your health. Now it's a virtue not to smoke. If you haven't had the experience of smoking, don't ever try it; if you have already started it, give it up immediately before you form the bad habit. Later I talked to those who did smoke and who, reported by parents, took cigarettes from home. They are very quick in following the fashion in the society, such as some of the boys used hair spray and strikingly divided the hair into parts. I asked a question in the class meeting, 'What is beauty in a person?' I didn't name those few boys but they knew who I was referring to and lowered their heads. I continued to tell them the way you can make yourself look beautiful as a pupil is to wear clean and tidy clothes. Boys may wear closely cropped hair, which may make you look energetic and beautiful. You are not the age

yet to do your hair like those grown-ups you see on TV or on the street and it would be good enough if you could keep your hair clean. To study well is your premier task.

That was on Friday and when they came the following Monday, they didn't turn up with their hair style. But the other day, two of those boys came to school with the hair style again. When I entered the classroom and heard some children commenting on it, I fixed my eyes on the two boys and they lowered their heads. After class, I had a word with them outside the classroom in the corridor and I asked them 'Do you think you look nice with this hair or with the closely cropped hair?' They smiled and these days they are back to normal. Normally as soon as something appears, I would talk to them anywhere and anytime as a class teacher.

YQ: Do you celebrate any traditional festivals together?

T4: We celebrate Children's Day on June 1st and New Year's Day. The school pays more attention to Children's Day as it is the pupils' festival and then it is warm. The whole school celebrates it all together in the school yard. But we celebrate New Year's Day in our own classes as it's in winter and very clod outside. And we also celebrate the National Day.

YQ: What about the Chinese New Year, although school ends before the time?

T4: We don't do anything because by the time school ends, there are still a couple of weeks to go. But before they leave school for the winter vacation, we ask them to collect wine bottles during the Chinese New Year and bring them to school when school begins in spring. We sell those bottles to add onto the class fund and use the money for class activities.

YQ: OK. I think it's nearly the time for your lesson now. Thank you very much for your time.

T4: Have you visited other schools in the city yet? Did you find anything different from here in the country? I feel that our children are a bit timid, not as bold as those children in the city.

YQ: I think they're almost the same.

T4: Shall we go to the class now?

Appendix 3: Transcripts of eight lessons

English (lessons) 3-1 to 3-5

Chinese (class meetings) 3-6 to 3-9

Appendix 3-1

A Lesson of Geography Assessment
7th Dec.1998, England

Teacher: Mrs VB (T1)
Class: Class 3 (Year 6s and 5s)
Class size: 25
School: School 1, rural
Time: 1.00pm

T1: Now, today we are going to finish your geography assessment. And I'm sure that some of you would have already started it because we actually (...). We actually looked at them last week. Now when we are doing our assessment, what we have got to remember? [Writing the word *draft* down on the board] That's important.

P: (...)

T1: Yes. But we do a draft copy first. When we rewrite it, it should be *neat* and *tidy*. Good.

P: We use geographical vocabulary.

T1: We use *geographical vocabulary*. So if you are writing about rivers and pollution, I want to hear about the sources, I want to hear, see and read about mountains and rivers. *Pollution* like *chemicals*, you've learned a lot about *rivers*. You know, I want to see geographical vocabulary in it. Right, what else? Come on.

T1 and P interaction (...)

T1: Yes. That should come out neat and tidy with punctuation and capital letters

and names of the rivers. Come on, I wanted more than that.

P: (...)

T1: Good. You keep to your task. You focus on what you are writing. And this time the study unit was rivers. We can focus on our rivers, ... and some of you are still spelling it as .... It is not .... It's ....

And we looked at one foreign country river, which was what?

C: The Nile, because we studied Egypt. And the other issue we looked at was pollution. And I know, for example, this boy [approaching a boy] has written a very good one, where he enjoyed writing his letter and receiving a response, and where he has been encouraged to write yet again to somebody else. The good news is because (...). We are going to have a lesson at the Water TW to find out what's happening and what they do with our water. We've already made a date, 29 Jan., something like that.

(...)

Anyway, [A boy interrupts...], so you know your geography assessment [The boy interrupts again...]. Now, [to the boy] can you give me a chance, please? I know that some of you are very good and you can actually say 'Mrs B, I've done that.' Well, I'm sure [The boy interrupts again...]...Excuse me, you are being rude! When you come to do your work, you won't know what to do and then you'll be saying 'what is it? What is it? What is it? Pay attention. You are going to go to secondary school. Teachers will not tolerate you interrupting a lesson. You've

had a very bad day today, and I'm not going to put up with it any more!'

Now, you two were writing a letter to the environmental agency. You want to get an envelope? So who are those good people who have finished their geography assessment?

B: ...Can I have my book back?

T1: Yeah. Have I corrected it?

B: EM has corrected.

T1: EM has corrected it? Excuse me, teachers correct it, not students, you know?

You get help from EM, but you don't get EM to correct it.

B: EM did the spelling.

T1: Oh, right. Anybody else? So we have ST, EA... I want you to give it up because you are going out for games on the playground.

(Break time)

T1: Now here we have Mr W M, ...Street, B.... We said we were going to give him a ring and ask him if he was the gentleman who worked for the estate. Would you like to write the number down and go and give him a ring and say 'Excuse me, Mr M.., are you the gentleman who worked for B Estate? I'm sending you a letter.' ST, can you do that for me, please? And enjoy your phoning and speak slowly and clearly, and be polite. Right.

[ST goes out.]

T1 talks to pupils individually and offers help with topic choosing and writing]

[ST returns.]

ST: Mrs B, I've got the right person.

T1: Oh, good! What did he say?

(...)

T1: Well done.

[T1 continues to talk to pupils.]

T1: En, TM, if you've got to cope with something, it's much better you came to me and said 'Mrs B, could you help me? It's so being a nuisance to everybody else. Now, TM, SM has come and said to me 'Mrs B, I can't cope. Will you please come and help me?' instead of going in and disrupting everybody else in the classroom [ToMand SM are the two special needs children in the class]. Have you got a difficulty?

Tom: Hmm, no.

T1: Right. Well then, can I see you on task, please?

[T1 works with a boy.]

T1: Well, where's the one I just corrected?

B: Oh, there.

T1: No. You were supposed to write one envelope to the W M [a local company], one envelope to the Southwest [another local company]. [Pointing to the a written envelope] That's the West Midlands'. [Looking at the envelope the

boy was writing] Is he doing the Southwest then? (...) If people don't reply to your letter, do you think it is rude? At least, you may say 'I'm sorry that I can't help, but thank you for your letter...

B: (...)

T1: [The boy did not write the envelope correctly] Well, you're doing nothing at the moment, just ruining all our envelopes. It's great expense to school.

B: (...)

T1: Right. There are some envelopes here.

(...)

T1: DV, en, I noticed that your name is never up there [Names of those who have finished their work are listed on the board]. If you take three weeks to do it, then you do it. So the choice is yours. You make a decision and you waste your time now and you do it at another time. Or you use this time, which is set aside for it and get it done. So what is your choice going to be?

DV: (...)

T1: Pardon?

DV: (...)

T1: Get it done.

T1: [Sees a boy not sitting properly, and says to class] This boy has a very bad habit of sitting on a two-legged chair.

(...)

[A boy comes up and asks Mrs B how to write the envelope.]

T1: [To class] Here we are. I have just had somebody's envelope to show you. There, what is he doing?

B: (...)

T1: Where should he be doing it?

B: On the left.

T1: On the left-hand side. The amount of money we are spending, here is an envelope, OK? You start about there, OK? Mr..B.. M.., OK? And you carry on. Because we need space for the stamp to go..there. [Checking the boy's writing of the envelope] That's too much in the middle, all right?

T1: [Sees SM working quietly and shouts to class] Have you all noticed how well SM is managing now without his helper here [There was usually a support teacher helping SM and TM]? He's not making any demand on the teacher. Very good! Even Mrs G now comes in and says how well he's doing now.

B: (...)?

T1: Environmental Agency will be on the next line and you write Branch.

(...)

YQ: Mrs B, Could I know what they are doing all this for, please?

T1: [To class] Right. Can we stop a minute, children? Yuan wants to know why you all are writing letters. Would you like to explain to Yuan what we've been doing? Can you all stop please and listen? Right, AN.

AN: This is because, er, when they..

T1: [T1 stops her] No. Explain to Yuan why you wrote letters.

AN: Oh. Because there were companies near the, er, River ... and they do things that pollute the river.

YQ: Thank you.

T1: See what they've been studying, Yuan, is that they've studied rivers and how people from very early times sacrifice rivers, ok? And now, there is pollution in the river. So the children have written letters in their geography. And do you want to see some of their letters and then they had some very good responses from various things. So you are welcome. [To class) Because Yuan's interested in Year 6's, OK, so CL, EM show yours. Who else is having a reply, yes? Yuan will be very interested. And who else had a very good reply from B Waters? Show it to Yuan yours.

[Pupils come up to me with their letters and replies.]

(...) [Telephone rings]

T1: I'm sorry, it's time to change [for PE], children.

[Lots of noise]

[Phone rings again.]

[Mr M comes in and gets the class ready to have PE out on the playground.]

Appendix 3-2

Transcript of a morning session
4th Dec.1998, England

Teacher: Mrs DN (T2)
Class: Class 3 (Year 6s and 5s)
Class size: 27
School: School 2, rural
Time: 9.00am

(Roll calling for registration)

...

T2: LR

LR: Dinners please.

T2: KT.

KT: Sandwiches please.

...

T2: That's 6 dinners, 3 people away, and 2 people going home. OK. That's 15 in your ride. Well done.

(...)

T2: OK. Anybody got any money or letter for me?

C: No.

T2: No? Thank you.

(...)

(Noise of children talking, pulling chairs)

T2: Alright. What's you need to do now then is that you need actually pick up your project and come into the circle so that we can all have a look at it.

(Noise of children moving around talking, pushing chairs)

(...)

T2: Ok. Have you got a page about 1930s? Have you got something about what took place somewhere in 1940s, 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s? Have you got something about the present today?

C: Yeah.

T2: Now this is the bit I haven't done. I haven't yet done the comparison between 1930s and present days. I have got a blank page. I've still got that to do. OK. If you've actually got the page in your book that tells you anything what they were like, you can make comparison.

(...) (Noise of children talking)

T2: When you interview somebody and they tell you how wonderful it is, then you just write down on the back.

(...)

T2: Alright. So you need to check there you've got those. If you've got that, then you've done it. If you haven't got all of those, after play then, we'll go through everybody's bit by bit. We'll check to see you've actually fulfilled the criteria. Yes, SM.

(SM asks a question...)

T2: Not enough yet. I suppose it is really.

T2: AM.

Amy: It's what all you need to get, you need to have?

T2: That's it. Yes.

(...)

T2: So that's really what we are looking for. If you've still got loads and loads of work to do, that's fine. I haven't finished mine yet. So we'll come to arrange the time when you think you'll be possibly finished. Alright. Yes. Some people still have one page to do. Some people have just got to bind it. Some people have got loads to do. Ok. Now.

(Noisy,)

T2: So first of all, we have got to get the spellings and tables now.

(...)

T2: OK. You need to go back and take your seats then and we'll do the spellings and tables.

(Noise, children talking, pushing chairs)

T2: Are we nearly ready?

...

T2: Are you ready, Jush?

...

T2: Anybody seen Lauren's ruler? What's it look like, LR?

LR: (...)

T2: Oh, there it is.

(It was 10 minutes before they are ready.)

T2: Ok. Let's start then.

(...)

Numbers on the top(...). 9, 5,12, 1, 6, 4, 11, 7, 3, 2, 10, 8, down 5, 4, 7, 10, 2, 5, 11, 8, 3, 12, 6, 1, 9. Pencil down. 10 squares. What's the top? 3, 8, 5, 1, 10, 4, 7, 2, 6, 9. Down the 5, 9, 4, 6, 2, 10, 1, 7, 3, 5, and 8. Pencils down. 8 squares for the top 5, 2, 9, 4, 8, 10, 3, 7. Down the side. 4, 9, 2, 6, 10, 7, 3, 1. Have you got the numbers?

C: Yes.

T2: All right. Off you go then.

(Children are quietly doing their work.)

(Mrs N is timing with a one-minute timer. When someone has finished, s/he gives a shout 'Finished' and Mrs N reports the duration of time.)

G1: Finished.

T2: Time 5′ 46″.

(Telephone ringing)

...

(Some children making noise)

T2: People are still working.

B5: Finished.

T2: 14′ 33″.

...

T2: OK. If you are still working, put 15′ and stop. Please and go and leave your book (...). We'll give out spelling sheets.

...

T2: Have I got Group 3? Group 3 coming around?

(...)

T2: Have I got Group 2?

...

T2: All right. Are you ready? Allen, are you ready? OK.

'Scotland was successful in the European Cup on Sunday night. It was the skilful...

(Recorder battery runs out)...'

...

(Different spelling tasks were set for different groups. At 10.00am, the class all went to the morning assembly for practising singing. Mrs N and I came back to the classroom where she was showing me some of the children's project files.)

10.30am

(Children come in from the assembly and Mrs N leaves for the staff room for coffee.)

(A writing session is going on. The title is A School Day – a comparison between England and China.)

... (At the end of the school day, Mrs N reminds the class of their work to be brought in the following day.)

T2: Everyone will have to bring your project to class tomorrow, no matter how many pages you have done, one page or a hundred pages. If you don't bring your project in, I shall be cross!

(Several children were talking to one another without paying enough attention to the teacher.)

T2: That's not the behaviour that I expected from the children of Class One (the mixed Year 5 and Year 6 is so called). Some of you have had a bad day today. I want you to have a better day tomorrow…

Appendix 3-3

Transcript of Part of a Morning Session

25th Nov.1998, England

This text is used as a supplementary background material to the previous lesson, in which the comparative writing project was discussed. Before they were assigned the task, the children watched a video programme which showed sorts of events that had happened in the 1930's.

Teacher: Mrs DN (T2)

10.40am

(After the 20 minutes' long break following the morning assembly, 10 minutes story time before the class really gets started)

...

T2: OK. Now, here we are. All right, Shh...sh, please. Here we are. This is what Ben's done so far. He's done this front cover all right. I think he needs to put a little bit of colour on it really. Hmm, but it is lovely, it is gorgeous. Now he starts off. So what should be in the next page, do you think?

B1: (...)

T2: Yes, I think so. Then he's put in lots of information he's found out about football players. Hmm, how can he compare 1930s to now?

G1: (...)

T2: Yes. Or maybe you can look at the way footballers dressed then and the way they dressed now. So you can have a page on the comparison (...) now. Any other suggestions? (...)

B2: (...)

T2: (...). So that's good though, good start, he's got loads. He's got hand written stuff. He's got hand drawn. He's got computer pictures. He's got things he's done and he's working with...(Some pupils: AL)...AL. So he's got some things AL's done. Good! Very good! Here we are. Here's the 1930's football kit. What do you think you can add to that, CT?

CT: Colour.

T2: Yes. I think you need to put some colour on it.

(...)

T2: It is very good. Smashing! I think Ben needs a clap for that.

(Class clapping)

T2: OK. Here we are. This is CL's. CL's doing schools from 1930s to date. It's lovely, nice colour, very clear. And she's got one page on school uniforms. She painted it herself on computer, which will go through to you in a minute. (...) She's downloaded some information from the computer. (...) So what could you do next then? MT.

MT: (...)

T2: Yes. I think, yes, she could do. I think that's up to her what she puts in it really. Hmm, in this page she's talked about the fact that they had pens and ink, and you can then contrast that down here to what we write with today.

(...)

CL: (Telling something she found in the book she is showing to all) I think I will add something about menu.

T2: Yeah, that's a good idea. Menu, what they used to eat then. Did they have school dinner or packed lunch then?

CL: (...)

T2: ...so there's a menu of school dinners?

CL: Yes.

T2: Well done. Excellent. Good start. Give her a clap, Class.

...

(T2 continues to show the class the other four children's work and end each of them with class clapping.)

...

Appendix 3-4

Transcript of an afternoon session
23rd Nov.1999, England

Teacher: Mrs TB (T3)
Class: Year 6
Class size: 22
School: School 3, urban
Time: 1.15pm

(Afternoon roll calling)

T3: Good afternoon, EM.
G1: Good afternoon, Mrs B.
T3: Good afternoon, GE.
B1: Good afternoon, Mrs B.
...
...
T3: Now, Boys and Girls. I have seen one or two people this morning and they said they needed a couple of more days to get the homework finished off. SM, for example, has got some information coming from his granny who lives in...(B2: North Yorkshire.) in North Yorkshire. His granny has been very well, so he needs a couple of more days until his granny will be able to send him the information he wants. So if you are somebody who needs a couple of extra days, you may have until Wednesday. Wednesday is the very last date. So when I go down the list, if you are not going to give it to me till Wednesday, and you need to tell me. OK?

Right. OM.

B3: Wednesday.

T3: Hmm, SM, yours Wednesday, yes?

B4: Yes.

...

T3: Er, Boys and Girls, I am just going to show you ES's, for example. She's got a cover. Very nice, you see. She's got a picture here of some Australian troops. A piece of writing. Some information of...she says 'Here's some information of some of my family when they were in the time of the War. Information's written by some relations. OK. Here's a piece of writing written by her granddad, talking about his experience during the War time. A photograph of her granddad, and a medal he won. This is a certificate, it says (...). This one's written by her grandmother. Two photographs taken when her grandma in (...). Some more photographs of her grandmother's brother. And she's got a very beautiful piece of writing about peace. 'Peace be with you... ...Just be calm and gentle. If you are, then peace has found you.' It's really beautiful. A lovely piece of work.

AT's work. He's spoken to two grandmas, one grandfather, and two granduncles.

...

And who's next on my list? MC, CH and Louis, please. Due on Wednesday?

...

(T3 gives out handouts and she comes over to give me a copy.)

...

T3: Right. You should have three of paper. One like this (showing to class), a poem of 'The blind men and the Elephant'. Watch if you've got the wrong sheets. You sort it out now. You should also have a sheet that is titled Unit 11 – Moral Tales (A different version of the Blind me and the Elephant). And finally the last sheet which entitles Aesop's Fables. Hands up if you've not got the sheets.

The first thing we're going to do is to look at these together, and we start with this ('The Blind Men and the Elephant'), OK?

(T3 reads)

The blind men and the Elephant (Version 1)

There were six men...

...

(T3 reads Version 2)

T3: Look at the last sheet. Aesop's Fables. The poem and the story are different version of the same story, and it is a moral tale, a tale of moral. And you know, Aesop's Fables all have the moral in them. We know very little about Aesop, who probably lived in the middle of 6th century, a long time ago. He's known to us as the author of many fables which teach valuable lessons. There three fables here. When you get on to this sheet, you need to read each of the fables carefully before you write about the lessons he's trying to teach. OK? The first one 'A Lion and a Hare', the second one 'A Tortoise and an Eagle' and the third one 'A Crow and Apollo'. When you read these yourself, just to work out what moral of the story is. As in 'The Blind Men and the Elephant', at the end the prince said, 'People may hold their own narrow view of every question without seeing anyone else's, therefore we must learn to examine ideas all over as the blind men should have examined the elephant because you will never understand anything unless you look at it from many different angles.' So that's the moral behind the story of 'The Blind Men and the Elephant'. So you are going to work out what the morals are behind these stories.

(T3 explains the instruction for doing the comprehension exercises on a card, a green paper*.)

(...)

(Two children help give out new lined exercise-books to everyone.)

T3: You start on the first page, the first page of the brand new book. It is particularly important when it is the first page. It is the first thing people see when they read your book. First impressions are important. Somebody opens your book and sees your work and automatically they could see if it is a piece of good work before he decides to read it. So concentrating. No mistakes and your very best handwriting. If you need to use the word bank, use it.

(Everybody starts doing the work quietly. A boy was warned by the support teacher several times for being making noise and disturbing others, and finally was sent to another class next door, which means a real punishment.)

...

The bell rang. All went to the school hall for practising Christmas songs.

* Comprehension: ('The Blind Men and the Elephant' from 101 School Assembly Stories by Frank Carr.)

a. Why did the prince gather the six blind men together?

b. When the blind men were asked to examine the elephant, what mistakes did they make?

c. What happened when the prince asked them to describe the elephant?

d. Find these words and phrases in the story and explain them in your own words.

a). tongue like razors b). to cut a long story short

c). wild words d). narrow view of every question

e. What was the prince trying to prove to those wise men?

f. Do you think this was a good way to prove his point? Give your reasons.

Appendix 3-5

Notes of a morning session
20th Nov.1999, England

Teacher: Mr HS (T4)
Class: Year 6
Class size: 27
School: School 4, urban
Time: 9.00am

9.15 – Morning registration

Children are reading quietly while T4 is doing the registration:

Absentees?

School dinner(s) fees?

Parent(s) appointment slips to pupils

A child on duty takes the envelope containing the money to the Secretary.

9.15 – reading stops

T4: If you have read something which is nothing memorable, then you have made a wrong choice of book. You must have something that sticks to your mind from what you've read, something like a fine phrase, sentence, etc.

T4 checks what they've read with individuals to see 'a string of words that stay with you'. To a girl, 'You've been very sensible with your choice of book. Don't give it up too soon. If you are bored, and it's too simple, you can't have something from it, do change it.

9.20 – Maths

Children do their own work on teacher's corrections.

T4 walks around to help, not teaching the whole class, but coaching individually. Sometimes, holding a 6+ book and saying something to those on the 6+ book.

T4: 'We're going to do Averages. If you are too sharp on that, you'll have a special sheet to work on. If you are not, you'll work together with me.'

9.57 – All go to the school hall for choir practice for Christmas party. Before the end of the practice, they pray for the children in Central America struck by a hurricane and the children are told to watch TV tonight for the programme of 'Children in Need'.

11.05: Maths lesson continues.

T4 walks around to help and stops.

T4: (Gently but firmly to a boy at a back row desk) 'You haven't cleaned that desk up yet? The paint is still there. You did it and you do it. It's your responsibility.'

B1: (with panic)'Yes.'

T4: (turning to the neighbouring boy) 'Were you involved?'

B2: (timidly) 'No. We were painting on that desk over there.'

T4: (looking and pointing at the poor wronged boy) 'So it wasn't you who did the paint?'

B1: 'No. We were at that table.'

T4: (apologising to B1) 'Oh, I am sorry. I apologise. I was wrong. I was just making an assumption.' (Turing to the whole class,) 'I'll say it again. I was wrong. I apologise.'

T4: (looking back at B1 with appreciation) 'But you didn't stop me. You know I was wrong, and you waited till I finished. Good!' 'But I saw you both painting there at the end of the art session.'

B2: 'When we came, the paint was dry.'

Several other children's voice assuring the teacher what B1 and B2 said was correct.

11.35 – Time for three boys to recite three poems on Central America to Year 3 on their request.

T4 asks class to discuss in groups on what they can benefit from reciting poems to Year 3.

Comments from each group:

· teach them different things (T4: 'To be precise.')

· confidence in front of audience

· make people laugh (T4: 'What a gift!')

· experience of reciting aloud to a lot of people

· bring people's attention

· performance skills

· group spirit (T4: 'You're getting better in working together. Congratulations!'

· entertain people, put people before yourself, work hard for other people

T4: 'You work hard in choosing a poem and memorising the poem. You deserve that success. Littlest infants don't know what you've done, but they do know that's something important.

The three boys left for Year 3 to recite poems. They came back in 15 minutes. It's nearly 12.00, time for lunch break. No more time for T4 to check everybody's work.

T4: 'Thank you for those who did the work that I haven't seen. I'll see them later.'

Appendix 3-6

Transcript of a class meeting
8th Jan.1999, China

Teacher: Mrs SJ (T1)
Class: Year 6
Class size: 56
School: School 1, urban
Time: 12.20am (local time)

(Electrical bell ringing, noise of pulling chairs and coughing...)

Teacher: Class begins.

Monitor: Stand up!

Class: Good morning, Teacher.

T1: Good morning, children. Sit down please.

T1: Sit up. This class is our Class meeting. Be very serious.

M: This Class meeting will be conducted in this way. First, each of the group leaders reports about the group; then each of the Class Committee members makes a summary of their work in this term; finally, Subject Representatives give their a term-end summary. Now the first group.

GL1 (Group Leader 1): We the first group have behaved very well since New Year's Day. In study, XL and SY have done a very good job. They worked very conscientiously in both exams and assignments. In physical labour, SJ behaved fairly well and she worked very actively. In discipline, I think I'd like to warn SB and WCh. They two seem to enjoy swearing, being naughty and making troubles for no reasons. In other aspects, I think our group have done rather well.

GL2: Our group recently are fine in every aspect. In study, LS did especially well. In physical labour, recently we mainly did the snow clearing. We were all very active. In discipline, tall classmates did better than small classmates and I hope small classmates will learn from big classmates.

GL3: During the final period of this term, some of the colleagues in our group were not so good in discipline, especially ZY and his fellows, such as (...). In study, some less able colleagues didn't seem to have made any obvious progress. In physical labour, we were all very active, especially when clearing snow. I hope in the last bit of this term all classmates will work hard and achieve good results in your exams.

GL4: We the fourth group, generally speaking, did fairly well, but some still behaved badly and LD and XY were typical. LD didn't listen carefully to the teacher in class and XY didn't behave in a subsidiary subject lesson and criticised by the teacher. I hope they will correct themselves and be good pupils again. In physical work, those who did very well include WX, LF and XY, especially when cleaning snow. In the morning when I checked the assignments, ZK, WW, ZP, CX and WW did very well and their work looked very neat and clean. I hope you all will keep it like that.

M: Now each of the Class Committee members.

CCM1: Recently, everybody has done very well, but some classmates should be criticised, such as, er, some people, when they came early to school, wouldn't go down first to do the cleaning and would always wait until everybody came. And in general, everybody did fairly well (laughter from the class)*.

CCM2: Recently, everybody has done fairly well in Music lessons. But maybe it's because the New Year's Day celebration and everybody was too excited, many people were not so good in discipline. I hope everyone will be in high spirits to welcome the

new term's Music lessons. Moreover, people like LZ, (...), I hope, will remember to bring their music stuff to school next term.

CCM3: I'd like to say that recently we were all OK in study, although some classmates appeared to be impatient during the overall review stage. I don't think it will do you any good and we must try to overcome it because being in that mood will cause many unfavourable factors for the review before the final-term exams. Therefore I do hope all classmates will achieve good results.

CCM4: Before New Year's Day, all classmates did quite well in Physical Education lessons and followed the teacher's instruction. In doing the eye protection exercises, some classmates behaved very well in front of Teacher S [Mrs SJ, C-School 1], but immediately after Teacher S left, they started a hubbub, which resulted in the whole class rocking with laughter. I hope those people will stop playing a double-faced part and behave behind the teacher's back as well as in front of the teacher.

M: Next, the subject representatives. First, Maths.

SR1: In submitting maths assignments, Group 4 was the first [earliest]; Group3 did the most complete submission [all submitted]; but Group1 was the latest and Group 2 was the most incomplete submission [some group members didn't submit their work]. In class, Group 3 observed the discipline best.

M: Next, Chinese Language.

SR2: Last week, the fastest [earliest] groups were group 3 and Group 4. Group 2 did the most complete submission, but Group 1 was the latest. Group 3 behaved the best in class.

M: Next, because we are at the overall review stage, we didn't have any lessons or any assignments for most of the subsidiary subjects, such as Moral Education,

Society, Arts, etc., but if any of the related SRs has something to say, please come forward. [Some SRs said 'No.' M turned to look at the teacher and the teacher nodded]. OK. I am going to say something myself next.

M: In Class meetings recently, I'd like to raise three points. First, all classmates paid much attention to classroom hygiene but didn't keep it up. Second, in break time discipline, some classmates would always stay in the corridor or fool around in the classroom, and I'd especially warn LZ, (...), SH and LY to behave. Third, in discipline during class, in the earlier period of time, all classmates were strict with themselves and very active to speak. But before and after the celebration of New Year's Day, everybody seemed too excited and couldn't control him/herself and performed much worse than before. I hope everybody will pay attention and try hard to correct these three points. In addition, in our class recently, many good people and good deeds emerged such as help and unity among classmates. I hope these good people and good deeds can be maintained. Now Teacher S will make a summary.

[Mrs SJ approaches the front and says, 'Finished so soon? Everybody spoke so fast.']

T1: Most of what the group leaders remarked, I think, were encouraging words in summing up their own groups in the three aspects of discipline, physical labour and study, which I think was good. Meanwhile many children were criticised by name. In the first group, who were criticised? WCh, do you know why you were criticised by name?

B1: Didn't observe discipline (in low voice).

T1: When you sat at the back, you didn't get on well with people around you and now in the front, you are the same. Besides, today I hear you got 25 marks [100 marks system] in the Music exam, the first from the bottom in the whole Year 6 [There are

four parallel classes]. And in the three-section maths exam, you failed in two sections. In this case, do you think you'd like to stay and repeat one year while the rest of the class go to secondary schools. Teachers won't let you go to secondary school before you lay a good foundation and your parents would be worried for you as well. If you continue to be like that, I will really mean what I have just said. I hope you get prepared mentally. Sit down please.

T1: The second group. LZY was criticised by name. Why?

B2: I forgot to bring the stuff for the music lesson.

T1: No attention attached to subsidiary subjects**, was there? This is an issue of incorrect attitude towards study. What do you think about it?

B2: It will not happen again.

T1: Just Music Lesson?

B2: All the rest are the same.

T1: Pay equal attention. Equally important. Do you think so?

B2: Hmm.

Y: Please sit down.

T1: LZY is only one of many of you who doesn't attach much importance to subsidiary subjects and often forget to bring books and stuff for the lesson. But he is the one who more often forgets his stuff. This means he doesn't have much thought for subsidiary subjects deep in his heart. If it were an unnecessary subject, how could the school have arranged it in the teaching programme. Whatever a subject it is, as long as it is designed for this class, we should get down to it seriously and treat it seriously.

You all behave very well in my Chinese Language lesson, active and well disciplined, and it seems that you are all fond of the subject. But I still think I failed, because you only pay attention to Chinese Language and Maths, not to the rest, the subsidiary subjects. Some of you in this class are really gifted in arts and many times on many occasions they participated in competitions in and outside the school, bringing credit to the class and winning honour for the school. What a glory it is! I feel so proud of them.

I hope you all develop in an all-round way and become accomplished in every aspect. Thus learning at the stage of primary education is particularly important. That is my requirement and also my expectation. Although criticism for those criticised by name is not something glorious, but otherwise, you wouldn't be aware that it was directed at you. Moreover, I hope when we are in a class meeting in the future, we in all cases directly point out the names of those people so that we can know what's what and who's who. We will name those to be praised and name those to be criticised as well. Nevertheless, I do hope those names will not any more be mentioned for criticism next time. The more your name is repeated, the more serious the issue becomes. By then I will have to have a talk with you alone and see your parent(s).

Today, ML made a more thorough summary with the work tidiness commented. Those praised on work tidiness please stand up. [5 children stand up.] All are girls and all are upper middle-level pupils [All children are listed on a league table according to their study performance based on their examination results.]. Sit down please. I have been laying emphasis on neat and tidy writing of your work, not just the Chinese Language work but the work of all subjects whenever writing is necessary. Remember what I have spoken to you about many times. Your handwriting represents yourself. Your handwriting tells if you are a person who works conscientiously, seriously,

cleanly, tidily and hygienically. So paying attention to your handwriting is greatly beneficial to you.

In the third group, it was ZY who was criticised by name. You have been twice late for school over the last few days. I see that you were trying to explain why you were late, but I still don't think it is forgivable. While all the rest of the class come to school all on time, some of whom even live farther away from school than you do, do you think it is appropriate to keep coming late? I hope you will be strict with yourself on this. Please be seated.

Those who were criticised by name in Group 4, you yourselves tell us what happened.

B2: I didn't listen attentively in class.

T1: LD, your performance just remains unchanged and you haven't made any progress. How could you not listen properly to the teacher in class? How does he behave during the break time (to class)?

G1: He plays in the corridor during the break time. [Playing in the corridor is not allowed in the school.]

G2: He always plays in the corridor.

T1: HS, what about in class?

G4: In class usually he doesn't concentrate.

T1: What was he doing?

G4: He likes to scribble in his book.

T1: What else?

G4: He always likes to talk to other people.

T1: LD, you know clearly why I moved you from the back to the front row. Normally short children are located at front row seats. Since some tall children like you have proved to be less able and fallen behind after some time of study, I give them appropriate preferential treatment and move them to front row seats so that they can be closer to the teacher, receive more care from the teacher and be in a better position to hear the teacher more clearly. I just intend to help and care for them. The rest of the class can all support me with an understanding, make full allowances for their situation in study and never scramble for a change of seat to any of the front seats.

I really appreciate this spirit of mutual help, care and understanding. Most of the children who should be sitting at the back rows but were moved by the teacher to the front rows can understand all the good intentions and kindness. But some of them just don't. To take more care of those who are behind others in study, I had to move many short children to the back rows. Some parents are worried about their short children who may not be able to have a good vision of what is written on the blackboard and they have requested for a change of their children's seats to the front.

I do appreciate those reasonable requests and I will try to do my best. But as you all can see, with so many children in this class, it doesn't seem to be that easy to satisfy everybody with a seat closer to the front. Those short children at the back, please know that I moved you to the back because I trust you and I always have confidence in you. You will do as well as you were at the front and you can maintain your good state of study, which I never doubt. I thank you for your understanding and support. For the sake of the collective interest and other people's benefits, you have unselfishly given your own up. That is the moral spirit and fine qualities that should be highly praised and encouraged. Therefore, those at the front rows should appreciate other people's understanding and sacrifice, try your every effort to catch up as soon as you

can and then enjoying your great progress you will have made, gloriously return to your original seats at the back. However, if you will be still sitting where you are now at a front seat by the end of this year, it naturally indicates you haven't made satisfactory progress in your study, which is not something you can be proud of.

OK. That's all I wanted to say today. Now relax yourselves. Any of you want make any comments or suggestions, or you just feel you've got something to say to the class? WY, Have you got anything to say? Would you like to say what you are intending to do?

WY: I will try to write properly.

T1: Anything else?

WY: Listen attentively in class.

T1: What about CB?

CB: I won't talk in class any more.

T1: LL?

LL: I promise I will not talk to other people in class.

T1: and LD?

LD: Try to get good exam results and not to talk to people in class.

...

(Bell ringing...)

T1: All right. That's all for today's Class meeting.

M: Stand up!

Class: Goodbye, Teacher!

T1: Goodbye, class!

* They laughed because, first, when he was supposed to name some people for criticism at the point of his saying 'such as', he skipped to 'some people', which reveals an attitude of vagueness causing no offence; second, while all his comments were negative, he concluded with a sudden turn by simply saying 'In general, everybody did fairly well', and with a funny tone indicating 'I'm not telling the real truth and you all may have already realised and understood my not telling the real truth, and let's get it passed.'; third, in Chinese culture, people call this kind of person 'Laohaoren', which literally means an *Always-good-person* who doesn't have any sense of principle and tries never to offend anybody.

** Of those 12 subjects, Chinese Language and Maths are major subjects and the rest are all subsidiary ones including Society, Music, Morality Education, Arts, Health Education, Physical Education, Physical Labour, Computer, Class meeting and Activities. Generally speaking, pupils mainly devote importance to major subjects. So do parents and even sometimes some teachers themselves. This is a conventional prejudice against subsidiary subjects because of the less recognised practical value of application in real life.

Appendix 3-7

Transcript of a class meeting
5th Jan.1999, China

Teacher: Mrs LD (T2)
Class: Year 6
Class size: 70
School: School 2, urban
Time: 4.20pm (local time)

(T2 enters the classroom and sees some pupils are writing and some are standing.)

T2: Put down your pens. Sit yourselves down. Class now begins.

M: Stand up!

C: Good afternoon, Teacher!

T2: Good afternoon, children! Please sit down. In today's Class meeting, we are going to have three children to make self-criticism because of their violating the school rules. Then we will make fair-minded comments on each of the events. You all have already known what really happened. Last week, our JZM and DW didn't go home immediately after school. They sat on the bench on one side of the playground near the teaching building and later they damaged the bench. This is what kind of behaviour?

C: Destroying public property.

T2: Yes, destroying public property. Meanwhile, our XJZ, just didn't respect the teacher, laughing wildly at Teacher Chen. He was in fact sneering at the teacher because that laughter made Teacher Chen feel unbearable and offended. Our teachers

transmit knowledge to us, but how could we sneer at them. That made Teacher Chen very angry. Now both events have already been reported to the head teacher. The school suggests that they make self-criticism first in class and then the school will deal with them. I hope everybody will help them and take care of them by making your comments and suggestions. Well, who among you three would like to make a start? OK, DW. Everybody listen carefully.

DW: A Self-criticism

On Wednesday afternoon, I didn't go home right after school and I damaged a bench on one side of the playground because I was eager to outshine JZM. I didn't realise that I was destroying public property and was not aware that it was a facility provided for people coming and going to rest on. I was so simple-minded and acted on impulse. With one simple kick, I caused loss to public property. What's more important is that laid bare my shortcomings in the code of behaviour. This event is a profound lesson for me. From now on, I will keep this profound lesson in mind solidly and let it warn me at any moment to be a good child of the best character and scholarship. Here I sincerely hope that everybody will not copy me and take this event as a lesson. I also hope everybody can help me in every aspect and I am ready to accept criticism by any of you. I will correct my mistake with practical deeds. As I have damaged the school's bench, I am willing to accept any punishment by the school and teachers. To my teacher and classmates present today, I once again hereby sincerely say 'Sorry, I am wrong.'

(Class applauding)

T2: Very good! And next one.

JZM: A Self-criticism

On 31 December 1998, when after school I passed by the bench on one side of the playground with DW, I asked, 'Do you dare to kick off the back of the bench?' 'I don't dare', he answered. Then with a flying kick, I did it. DW followed my way and did it as well when a lady passing by caught us damaging the bench and sent us to Director Yang (person in charge of teaching). I guarantee I will not destroy public property any more in the future. I shouldn't have made such a bad suggestion and will not make any bad suggestions like that.

(Class applauding)

T2: XJZ, stand up. He hasn't written his self-criticism.

(Class laughing).

We'll see what he's going to say. Stand straight and tell us when, where and what you did.

XJZ: On the afternoon of 28 December 1998, I went to the teachers' office with ZP. I don't know the reason, but we burst into laughter as soon as we saw Teacher Chen.

(Class laughing)

T2: Should this matter be laughable?

XJZ: Then Teacher Chen got hold of me and severely criticised me for that.

T2: Is that it? Is that all about it? Have you realised it on your thinking about it?

XJZ: Yes.

T2: If so, then tell everybody how.

XJZ: I shouldn't have sneered at the teacher. Er, I promise to correct this shortcoming.

T2: Is that all? Get back to your seat. Well, as we have already heard those three classmates doing self-criticism. Tell us your impressions. Do speak out freely. OK, LL is the first person to raise her hand. Well done. Very well.

LL: I think DW and JZM damaged the bench because they both paraded their superiority and strive to outshine the each other or even others.

B5: I think they kicked the back of the bench because they acted on a moment's impulse. They didn't have in mind the consequences of damaging the bench, the public property. When afterwards they realised they shouldn't have done that, it was too late. I think if they had thought about their action beforehand, this event would have been avoided.

T2: GY.

GY: I think among the three classmates, only DW made a more in-depth self-criticism. It seems he has really realised it was that he didn't take care of the public property to have damaged the back of the bench. He has realised it in his thinking and showed us his determination not to let this sort of thing happen again.

T2: That's correct. It was really a silly thing to do. OK, DM.

DM: I think it is good that DW was aware he had made a mistake and sincerely apologised to the teacher and the whole class.

T2: And YQ [a boy].

YQ: I think we can draw a lesson from what DW did, i.e. we should look before we leap and make sure it is not going to be a bad consequence. Another point of mine is that I think JZM and DW are old enough to know they shouldn't damage the bench by just kicking it and they should compete in study, which is beneficial to both of them

rather than compete in physical strength, which resulted in the damage of public property.

T2: Very good comment. Ok, FYZ.

FYZ: Both of them are not very good at study, so they just wanted to draw people's attention and acknowledge them in another aspect to satisfy their vanity. We have forgiven them.

T2: Well, the classmates have forgiven them. What are you going to say, HC?

HC: I think maybe it is not appropriate to just say they have vanity in that aspect. I think that was their mischief.

T2: Good. And YHZ.

YHZ: I don't think it was mischief. I think they were competing to see who was physically stronger, thoughtless of any consequences.

T2: Oh! They didn't realise that was public property and it was used for people to rest on. What they thought of was who was stronger, braver and who's a hero. That means they can't distinguish right from wrong. We have a subject of Moral Education, don't we? Have they taken the education from the Moral Education teacher? Have they taken what Teacher L (T2 herself) has educated them? How is positive education taken? A bit slowly. But how is negative education taken? A bit fast. It is often at the moment of distinguishing right from wrong that they make a mistake, go astray and take the wrong bus. OK, WZD

WZD: After school, they should have gone home early and shouldn't have damaged the bench.

T2: They should have gone home early after school. Do you mean we can't forgive them. But what else can we do if not forgive them? I think, as a pupil when you have made a mistake, you should have the courage to correct it and don't repeat it in the future. Then you will become a good child again. All right, ZY.

ZY: I think XJZ's laughing at the teacher was not polite. Why did he laugh? It was because Teacher Chen was a bit fat. I think he is just too sensitive and when he see fat people, he feels they are funny and can't help laughing. Laughing at people is disrespectful.

T2: Good! We were only commenting on the event of damaging public property. We should now say something about XJZ's attitude to Teacher Chen. GY.

GY: I think we should learn to respect teachers, which is a virtue. Teachers work very hard to transmit knowledge to us. Sneering at a teacher is completely wrong. He couldn't have become a pupil of Year 6 without teachers. Laughing wildly at a fat teacher is extremely disrespectful. We also have some classmates, who enjoy making nicknames for others, which is disrespectful to people as well. Just think for a moment. If others make a nickname for you, how would you feel? We should respect teachers and respect classmates as well.

T2: Very good. An association with other incidents in our class. HH.

HH: I think XJZ should check on his thinking about this. Being fat is not funny at all and is very normal.

T2: OK, GH.

GH: I don't think it was something related to his thinking. He just finds it funny when he sees a fat person.

T2: Well, This is one of his habits. He just can't help, right? This is manifestation of disrespect for others, isn't it? Many more classmates want to speak. TH.

TH: I think he intended to show off and make everybody laugh. It seems to be his habit.

T2: I think it is not his habit but a manifestation of disrespect for people. GX.

GX: I think it is something of ideology. If his mother were as fat, he wouldn't have laughed at others.

T2: Oh, ideology. Ok, now. We don't seem to have time for everyone to speak. Today, we expressed our thoughts on the two events. Through today's Class meeting, I believe we all have received some profound education. People should have self-awareness. If you respect me, I will respect you as well. Teacher Chen is a respectable learned teacher. Besides, she is not really that fat. Then what was really that funny? Why could he make Teacher Chen feel it was so unbearable? Although XJZ has made a self-criticism, it was not satisfactory. I hope tonight at home XJZ will write the whole thing and that ideology completely in detail and have it signed by your parents.

(Bell ringing)

Don't be afraid when you have made a mistake. Be bold enough to admit it and determined to correct it. JZW should rewrite your self-criticism as well and get it signed by your parents. Tomorrow morning you hand it in. I think DW made very good self-criticism, very profound. I believe DW will correct his mistake more quickly than the other two because he has already been ideologically aware of his mistake. Finally, I think it is a very good lesson for us all. That is all for today.

Appendix 3-8

Transcript of a class meeting
25th Jan.1998, China

Teacher: Mrs LJ (T3)
Class: Year 6
Class size: 39
School: School 3, rural
Time: 1.20am (local time)

T3: Class Begins.

Monitor: Stand up!

T3: Good morning, Class!

Class: Good morning, Teacher!

T3: Sit down, please! Today, the Class meeting will be covering the following tasks: 1). Members of the Class Committee summarise their work during the past week by giving reports on the aspects of moral education, intellectual education, physical education, art education and physical labour education, and then the rest of the class make supplementary summaries; 2). If time permits, we will make a public appraisal for this week against the Daily Codes of Conduct. Now, the committee members. WF [Monitor] kicks off.

WF: I think this week our class have done well in every aspect except that we didn't do as well in physical labour. But we did extraordinarily well in physical education, which especially reflected in the long-distance running race yesterday. We won the first place with our excellent performance. And recently swearing and fights became less and lots of progress have been made in studies, especially in maths. Classroom

discipline was better observed than before and the situation of submitting assignments was much better.

T3: Now subject representatives give reports.

SR1: Recently, all groups can submit their excercise-books on time and behave well in class, but there is one shortcoming – I have to urge the group leaders to collect the assignments.

T3: Group leaders are not responsible enough and pay attention to it from now on. We just had our computer lesson and let's have the SR of computer lessons to tell us something about the situation in class.

SR2: The discipline in class was much better today, but some classmates were still noisy. MJ imitated the cries of a dog.

T3: Did he really? This is no fun at all. You are a human being and how can you imitate the cries of a dog? Now others continue to report.

SR3: We did very well in the winter race of long-distance running yesterday afternoon, resulting in winning the first in Juniors' total team score. In girls' race, CW won the first, HJ the second, LH the fourth, and the rest, I don't know.

T3: You don't know? As a person in charge of Physical Education, you ought to make sure who are those 16 people among the first twenty. You should know fairly well. OK, sit down.

Girl 1: I have a word to say. There is a phenomenon of spitting in our class…

T3: Is there? Name the person and make him/her embarrassed. And you need to have your evidence. Embarrassed to name the person, but ok, save his/her face. The group leader of this group say something.

GL1: Some classmates don't pay any attention to keeping the classroom clean and tidy. For instance, today after *jiacan* ['Extra meal', normally a duty child from a Junior class carries a bucket of boiled eggs or sorts of refreshments going from one class to another during the twenty minute break time after two 40 minute lessons in the morning, distributing, to be more exact, selling to those who may need it.], some classmates just didn't bother to chuck the rubbish into the bin, dropping the rubbish on the floor without cleaning it. The floor became very dirty by the time for the third period of lesson.

T3: It is drawing near the end of term and I hope this matter will be paid much more importance. Anybody want to add a bit? Mm, WF [Monitor] has some more.

WF: The class discipline was not good recently. Some people kept talking to each other and someone even dozed off.

T3: Such as...who was it?

WF: ML. He got scolded almost in every period of lesson, especially in maths lessons.

T3: Somebody even fell asleep in maths lessons [as a major subject]? Don't you have enough sleep at night? More over, we have a ten minute break time after each lesson for you to move about and get refreshed. Still can't cheer yourself up?

WF: Some classmates are not self-conscious enough. They behave well in front of the teacher, but differently when the teacher is not here. Yesterday afternoon, after you [the class teacher] left, I went up to the front and required their attention to read and nobody listened. When I warned them of recording their names, it still didn't work. Someone even brought playing cards to class.

T3: Someone was playing cards in class [with a tone of surprise and anger]? Who was it?

WF: CQ.

CQ: I brought the cards, but I didn't play.

T3: It was equally wrong if you were involved. You are going to leave this school soon, but you don't seem to have any pressure and even played cards in the classroom. Those who have ever played cards in the classroom, please stand up. All right. Those standing up are honest, but those who have ever been involved in playing cards in the classroom but are still sitting there are not honest. We all have one and a half hours for the lunch break, but did any of you ever see any teachers playing cards in the office? (Some pupils say no.) LX and ZY are teachers' children and did you two ever see your mothers playing cards? (LX and ZY say no.). What do the teachers do during the noon time? Who knows and who saw them?

MX: Correcting assignments.

T3: What else?

Some pupils: Preparing lessons...helping the less able with their lessons...

T3: What else? Some teachers use the time to take a short rest, either bending over the desk or leaning on the couch. What are they working so hard for? For whom?

Class: For us.

T3: Yes. All for you. Why don't you use the time to do some reading or exchange some study experience with each other, but take the time to play cards instead? From now on, no cards in school. At the very beginning of this term, I confiscated one set of playing cards, which had already indicated that cards are forbidden in school. The

lunch time break is for eating and rest and I hope nobody will play cards again in school. Can you all promise not to play cards any more? (Class all say yes.) As the first term of Year 6, it is a very crucial term and I hope you all put your attention back to your study.

I agree to WF's summary. In general, we have had a good week. The biggest achievement is in physical education, winning the winter race of the long distance running among the Junior teams. But we are not as good in discipline and what's more, I unexpectedly realised some of you played cards in school. It is not allowed and even better not to play cards at home. In study, we have made much progress, but there is a phenomenon of dashing off homework the following morning in school and sometimes even hurrying homework in the lesson of a subsidiary subject. All these are behaviour violating the discipline. Are you all determined to correct all these?

Class: Yes.

T3: Good! OK, it seems we still have some time to proceed with next task - making a public appraisal against the Daily Codes of Conduct, which will be conducted in this way: self-appraisal, group appraisal and collective appraisal of the class. WF continues to chair this and let's start from WX.

WX: I give myself 'Good' for the behaviour in this week.

T3: Why?

WX: Because I wasn't able to hand in my class assignment on time on Thursday.

GL1: I agree to WX's self-appraisal.

T3: But WX did very well yesterday. She alone gained 19 points for our class, for which we should award her with 'Excellent' (class applauding).

WX: I still think I get 'Good' for this week.

GL1: I agree.

T3: What do you all think, Class? (Class shout 'Agree') OK. A 'Good'. No Red Flower [A red flower only goes with 'Excellent']. Next one.

HY: I think I should get 'Good', because I sometimes swear.

T3: Will you correct it? If so, you'll be definitely given 'Excellent' next week.

HY: No problems. (T3: ML.)

ML: I think I get 'Good'.

T3: ML won the fourth place in yesterday's race, gaining 16 points for the class. Although she was ill, she won honour for the class. But I heard when she finished the running, she spitted a bit of blood. Please remember to go with your parents to the hospital for a check. I propose to award ML a red flower. (Class: She deserves it.)

BK: Because I was not active in answering teachers' questions in class, I think I get 'Good'.

T3: Normally you don't talk too much, but when the teacher asks you a question, you are active enough to give an answer. The group leader, what do you think BK should get?

GL2: She should get 'Excellent'. (T3: Class?)

Class: Agree.

T3: OK. The bell has gone. We are going to finish the public appraisal in the afternoon. I think today's class meeting was a very successful one. I hope you will soon correct your shortcomings and unite to make our class an example for all the

Junior classes and let them all envy and admire us. Do you have confidence in doing better in discipline? Class: Yes.

T3: All right. That's it. Have a break, children.

Class: Have a break, Teacher.

Appendix 3-9

Transcript of a class meeting
8th Jan.1998, China

Teacher: Mrs YZ (T4)
Class: Year 6
Class size: 38
School: School 4, rural
Time: 3.00pm (local time)

(Mrs YZ enters the classroom.)

Monitor: Now the class meeting begins. First, Group Leaders will report on discipline, hygiene and assignments in regard to their own groups. Those who will be criticised should be open-minded to accept criticism and try to correct your mistakes.

Let's start with Group 1.

Group Leader 1: In hygiene, our group have done very well except LSX and WHM who were late for cleaning the classroom on Monday and LSX alone today who didn't conduct his duty to clean the classroom. In discipline, LSX always spoke to others in class and all the rest have done well in observing the discipline. And last in assignments, ZF has made lots of progress and has been able to hand in his work on time every day. That's it for our group. (Class applauding)

M: Group 2, please.

GL2: In discipline, we have YC who kept talking to LSX, and WAM talking to LJ in class. In hygiene, LJ was too late to do her duty in cleaning the classroom. Everyone has submitted assignments on time. LXY has done the most in hygiene. That's all. (Class applauding)

M: OK. Group 3, please.

GL3: TH and SC in our group didn't do their assignment once; WQM was apt to talk to YY lot behind. In hygiene, WQM was not good, and YC and SC are the two people we should learn from. That's all. (Class applauding)

GL4: In discipline, CQ and ZY were late for school once. In assignments, ZY didn't do his maths work once. In maths lessons, RW was apt to talk to LSX behind. Tha't all. (Class applauding)

GL5: ZX and SXF liked to talk to each other in class and even left their seats. ZT and SXF often didn't do their assignments. In terms of moral character, SXF, ZXR and ZYJ often spoke dirty language. That's all. (Class applauding)

GL6: In discipline, WL frequently talked to ZX lot in class. In hygiene, ZXD, when he's one of us on duty, just sat there speaking but not doing anything. In assignments, WL has made great progress and now his handwriting becomes much better than before. That's all. (Class applauding)

M: According to the reports by the 6 group leaders, we can see classroom hygiene is generally good in comparison to other aspects. Discipline is a bit in disorder. ZX has to stop leaving your seat during class. It is now already the time for general review and playing during the noon time has to be forbidden. We have to study hard. Now please welcome our class teacher to give a conclusive speech on the reviewed week. (Class applauding)

T4: The six GLs' reports were all too brief. More details were needed on the three aspects of hygiene, discipline and study. We should clarify who didn't do well or did it wrong, or in what aspects progress has been made, and we should point these out so that she/he will know where she/he was right and where she/he was wrong. Among

the six group leaders, MJJ's report was a bit more detailed than the rest, whose reports were too brief.

GLs didn't go to any details about our lessons of Chinese Language. The homework for Chinese Language is normally checked by group leaders and I will not have any idea about how the homework is done if it is not reflected in the group leaders' report. Now I am going to make a conclusion of the general situation over the week. First, our performances at the New Year's Day celebration party were highly commended by the school leaders and teachers and they all were amazed at the high quality of the performances, which I didn't personally attend to. I am so proud of you for the great achievement of your own. Teachers all praised us for the strong sense of collective reputation. This has proved to be a very good beginning for 1999.

We have had several snowfalls this winter and there are quite a few active people in our class who behaved excellently in the clearing of snow. DQ and YZJ are two of them, who are not afraid of piercing cold and tiredness and for more than once they came to school before daybreak to clear the snow when most of us were still at home. Although DQ is not tall, he fears no hardship in work. Why don't they fear cold in such a cold weather [It can be as cold as -28°]? Because in their hearts, they are thinking of the interest of the whole class. It is the spirit of collectivism. We should all learn from them and strengthen the sense of collective reputation in order to win the first place in every aspect...

...[Due to an unidentified problem of the tape recorder which occurred without my being able to notice while it was on the teacher's desk in the front recording the lesson, the rest of the recording was later found completely unusable because of its inaudible effect although some technical measures have been taken to deal with it.]

Appendix 4: Notes of interviews

English 4-1 to 4-4

Chinese 4-5 to 4-8

Appendix 4-1

Notes of the interview with Mrs VB (E-School 1), England

1. The interview was supposed to take 30 minutes and it actually took 40 minutes. Mrs DN (E-School 2) showed much interest in Chinese schools and asked lots of questions about China even when I tried to close the talk.
2. Before next going to meet the class, as a closing speech, Mrs DN (E-School 2) warned me by saying 'I have to apologise in advance for some of the children's misbehaviour. They are not used to overseas people. I don't know how they might behave to you'.
3. On the way to the classroom, she tried to practise my name again, though she tried it a couple of times during the interview, and was a bit worried she wouldn't be able to pronounce it correctly in front of the class.
4. The moment I entered the classroom with Mrs DN, I heard a boy's voice 'Who's that man?' and I spotted the speaker. Later, Mrs DN came to me and with regret she repeated what the boy said, referring back to what she had previously warned me about.
5. This is how Mrs DN introduced me to the class, 'We've got a visitor, Mr Qi from China. He might ask you questions. He might record. Give sensitive answers. Pronounce his name correct. He will be seeing you many times till Christmas. Behave well and to be polite.'

Appendix 4-2

Notes of the interview with Mrs VB (E-School 1), England

Some impressive points:

1. Praising her secretary: suitable for the job; capable; and responsible.
2. 'No one is missed out': financial support so that everybody can take part in activities.
3. 'Talk openly': about family problems and death.
4. Supportive: Mrs VB said that she would be happy to do her best for the good of the research – she asked me whether I'd like to talk to other teachers, visit other classes or come to the school in different times, both mornings and afternoons, so that I could have a rather general idea about the school and of course, the class.
5. Considerate: Mrs VB recommended that I attend a school assembly because they would a visitor who would talk about meningitis; she informed me of a student from Cheltenham College observing the class as well; and she also told me that I might see one lady from the LEA observing two special needs children in the class.

Appendix 4-3

Notes of the interview with Mrs TB (E-School 3), England

1. Mrs TB was the only one with whom I had the interview in the classroom though it was during the lunch break, and she had to stop now and then to tell those children coming into or going outside of the classroom to be quick and quiet so that we could continue our talk.
2. Mrs TB had been observed in class by some other people before me and she appeared calm, experienced in interview and ready to answer questions. She's quick in response.
3. Encouragement: house points; praise in class; showing good work to other classes.

   Punishment: sent to another class; sent to the headteacher; parents to be seen.

Appendix 4-4

Notes of the interview with Mr HS (E-School 4), England

[The interview was taking place in the headteacher's office. Mr HS was 12 minutes late and the headteacher helped find him to the interview. I asked him if he would mind my recording the interview and he replied calmly that he might. When I asked if I could record lessons and take pictures, he said he would ask the headteacher [later, before the observation, his reply came as 'no recording of lessons because of possible rejection from parents but photos can be taken in the school'].

...

YQ: Could you please give a brief introduction to the class?

T4: 10/11 year olds; 18 boys and 9 girls, usually more girls in a class, an unusual group. I have been with them for more than 5 years [since Year 1]. Influence of boys over girls. Dynamic. Wide ability range. Some are very able, some are weak, not equal, challenge to teacher. They come from different parts of the city, from different backgrounds.

YQ: How do you cope with this situation of the class?

T4: I can't cope with that because they have different needs. Children from poor backgrounds are determined and quick thinking but they need security, love and to be valued; those from good backgrounds are lazy. You need to enable them all to have self esteem.

YQ: Could you give some examples of how you help them build up self esteem?

T4: Examples? Not at this stage. If you go to the class, you'll be seeing it.' Like respect, children follow our example. You know you are trained all the time...For me,

I'm Christian, the guiding principle is the Christian ethics, how to behave to each other...

YQ: Then what are the principles in the classroom?

T4: See if you come across.

...

[This was a school where I would have least expected to be refused of recording since my daughter goes to this school. The refusal of recording upset my plan and threw my thinking into confusion, I didn't realise I forgot to raise questions regarding encouragement and punishment until T4 and I were waiting outside the Year 6 classroom to visit the class when an art lesson was going on.]...

YQ: How do you do with their good behaviour and misbehaviour?

T4: In terms of good behaviour, you may give a praise to someone alone; you may praise a child within a small range or in front of the class, or give a sticker or a certificate, or in the school assembly, but it just depends. Because for some children, a blink of eyes or a 'Well done' is enough. Some children may not like to be praised in public, which may make them embarrassed or upset.

...

[When we entered the classroom, T4 introduces me to the group of 4 girls sitting near the door, 'This is Mr Qi, Feifei's dad. He's here to watch how you work with the model tank. Can you explain to him what you are doing.' T4 then left and so did the interview.]

Appendix 4-5

Notes of the interview with Mrs SJ (C-School 1), China

1. Mrs SJ was correcting the pupils' exercise books when I entered the office for the interview. She asked me to sit down in the opposite seat and continued to correct the work all through the whole interview. Knowing that all school teachers were hard working and too busy and even the half an hour interview time was too much to be lost, I didn't take it as an impolite gesture – maybe these exercise books would have to be returned to each of the children in the following lesson.
2. Differences between the two countries in parents' meetings (or parents' evenings):

   England: meeting parents individually (for 15 minutes)

   China: meeting parents all in the classroom (for one hour)

   England: positive comments, praise, encouragement; pointing out mistakes or shortcomings in a mild tone in suggestions

   China: criticism of mistakes and shortcomings, though there are praises.
3. During the interview, one of the Year 6 teachers came in directly to Mrs SJ and interrupted the talk. She asked Mrs SJ to move a lesson to another time. The request was satisfied and the interview continued.

Appendix 4-6

Notes of the interview with Mrs LD (C-School 2), China

1. We had the interview in the office with two colleagues present, but Mrs LD seemed to talk very openly and had no scruples.
2. Such a large class size of 70 pupils, 35 boys and 35 girls, hard to imagine how she manages. And what's more, no extra pay but double work load, time, energy.
3. T2: Although you may complain about it, you just keep your work going as well as ever. Never do it even not as well because of too much work and no extra pay.
4. Modelling to the children: working hard, never thinking too much about personal gain or loss, fully committed to the work.

Appendix 4-7

Notes of the interview with Mrs LJ (C-School 3), China

1. This interview was held in the headteacher's office, with the headteacher present at her desk and occasionally joining in the talk.
2. Mrs LJ was the class teacher of Year 6 (1), teaching Chinese, and she was director in charge of teaching in the whole school.
3. This was the only class in which the majority of the pupils are children from a minority nationality, the Hui nationality.
4. T4: important to respect pupils' self esteem; to teach them the qualities of behaviour – buy a ticket to take a bus, give away seats to elderly and disabled people on the bus, respect the disabled; and the ability to survive in the society.
5. Modelling: work hard, not to play cards, admit mistakes, have regular meals during Ramadan.

Appendix 4-8

Notes of the interview with Mrs YZ (C-School 4), China

1. Mrs YZ was a bit nervous at the beginning of the interview. I guess it was her ever first interview. It was in her office and two other colleagues left for their lessons.
2. YQ: Apart from knowledge from books, what else do you think are important to teach them in terms of their personal qualities?
3. T4: Read good books, note down good words or sentences.
4. I later repeated my question in hope of new answers, but still no development. T4 replied, 'Read all sorts of good books.' This reflects a conventional idea of what teacher does – teaching knowledge.

Appendix 5: Values and aims

Appendix 5-1: The English National Curriculum

Appendix 5-2: English School 1

Appendix 5-3: English School 2

Appendix 5-4: English School 3

Appendix 5-5: English School 4

Appendix 5-6: A Letter of E-School 4 to parents in response to OFSTED inspection

Appendix 5-1: The English National Curriculum

The school curriculum and the National Curriculum: values, aims and purposes

The school curriculum comprises all learning and other experiences that each school plans for its pupils. The National Curriculum is an important element of the school curriculum.

Values and purposes underpinning the school curriculum

Education influences and reflects the values of society, and the kind of society we want to be. It is important, therefore, to recognise a broad set of common values and purposes that underpin the school curriculum and the work of schools.[1]

Foremost is a belief in education, at home and at school, as a route to the spiritual, moral, social, cultural, physical and mental development, and thus the well-being, of the individual. Education is also a route to equality of opportunity for all, a healthy and just democracy, a productive economy, and sustainable development. Education should reflect the enduring values that contribute to these ends. These include valuing ourselves, our families and other relationships, the wider groups to which we belong, the diversity in our society and the environment in which we live. Education should also reaffirm our commitment to the virtues of truth, justice, honesty, trust and a sense of duty.

At the same time, education must enable us to respond positively to the opportunities and challenges of the rapidly changing world in which we live and work. In particular, we need to be prepared to engage as individuals, parents, workers and citizens with economic, social and cultural change, including the continued globalisation of the economy and society, with new work and leisure patterns and with the rapid expansion of communication technologies.

Aims for the school curriculum

If schools are to respond effectively to these values and purposes, they need to work in collaboration with families and the local community, including church and voluntary groups, local agencies and business, in seeking to achieve two broad aims through the curriculum. These aims provide an essential context within which schools develop their own curriculum.

[1] In planning their curriculum, schools may wish to take account of the statement of values finalised after widespread consultation by the National Forum for Values in Education and the Community (May 1997). These are reproduced on pages 147–149 of this handbook.

Aim 1: The school curriculum should aim to provide opportunities for all pupils to learn and to achieve.

The school curriculum should develop enjoyment of, and commitment to, learning as a means of encouraging and stimulating the best possible progress and the highest attainment for all pupils. It should build on pupils' strengths, interests and experiences and develop their confidence in their capacity to learn and work independently and collaboratively. It should equip them with the essential learning skills of literacy, numeracy, and information and communication technology, and promote an enquiring mind and capacity to think rationally.

The school curriculum should contribute to the development of pupils' sense of identity through knowledge and understanding of the spiritual, moral, social and cultural heritages of Britain's diverse society and of the local, national, European, Commonwealth and global dimensions of their lives. It should encourage pupils to appreciate human aspirations and achievements in aesthetic, scientific, technological and social fields, and prompt a personal response to a range of experiences and ideas.

By providing rich and varied contexts for pupils to acquire, develop and apply a broad range of knowledge, understanding and skills, the curriculum should enable pupils to think creatively and critically, to solve problems and to make a difference for the better. It should give them the opportunity to become creative, innovative, enterprising and capable of leadership to equip them for their future lives as workers and citizens. It should also develop their physical skills and encourage them to recognise the importance of pursuing a healthy lifestyle and keeping themselves and others safe.

Aim 2: The school curriculum should aim to promote pupils' spiritual, moral, social and cultural development and prepare all pupils for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of life.

The school curriculum should promote pupils' spiritual, moral, social and cultural development and, in particular, develop principles for distinguishing between right and wrong. It should develop their knowledge, understanding and appreciation of their own and different beliefs and cultures, and how these influence individuals and societies. The school curriculum should pass on enduring values, develop pupils' integrity and autonomy and help them to be responsible and caring citizens capable of contributing to the development of a just society. It should promote equal opportunities and enable pupils to challenge discrimination and stereotyping. It should develop their awareness and understanding of, and respect for, the environments in which they live, and secure their commitment to sustainable development at a personal, local, national and global level. It should also equip pupils as consumers to make informed judgements and independent decisions and to understand their responsibilities and rights.

The school curriculum should promote pupils' self-esteem and emotional well-being and help them to form and maintain worthwhile and satisfying relationships, based on respect for themselves and for others, at home, school, work and in the community. It should develop their ability to relate to others and work for the common good.

It should enable pupils to respond positively to opportunities, challenges and responsibilities, to manage risk and to cope with change and adversity. It should prepare pupils for the next steps in their education, training and employment and equip them to make informed choices at school and throughout their lives, enabling them to appreciate the relevance of their achievements to life and society outside school, including leisure, community engagement and employment.

The interdependence of the two aims

These two aims reinforce each other. The personal development of pupils, spiritually, morally, socially and culturally, plays a significant part in their ability to learn and to achieve. Development in both areas is essential to raising standards of attainment for all pupils.

The national framework and the purposes of the National Curriculum

The two broad aims for the school curriculum are reflected in section 351 of the Education Act 1996, which requires that all maintained schools provide a balanced and broadly based curriculum that:

- promotes the spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development of pupils at the school and of society
- prepares pupils at the school for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of adult life.

The Act requires the Secretary of State, local authorities and the governing body and headteacher to take steps to achieve these requirements. The Secretary of State meets his responsibilities in this area by providing a national framework which incorporates the National Curriculum, religious education and other statutory requirements. This framework is designed to enable all schools to respond effectively to national and local priorities, to meet the individual learning needs of all pupils and to develop a distinctive character and ethos rooted in their local communities.

The four main purposes of the National Curriculum

To establish an entitlement

The National Curriculum secures for all pupils, irrespective of social background, culture, race, gender, differences in ability and disabilities, an entitlement to a number of areas of learning and to develop knowledge, understanding, skills and attitudes necessary for their self-fulfilment and development as active and responsible citizens.

To establish standards

The National Curriculum makes expectations for learning and attainment explicit to pupils, parents, teachers, governors, employers and the public, and establishes national standards for the performance of all pupils in the subjects it includes. These standards can be used to set targets for improvement, measure progress towards those targets, and monitor and compare performance between individuals, groups and schools.

To promote continuity and coherence

The National Curriculum contributes to a coherent national framework that promotes curriculum continuity and is sufficiently flexible to ensure progression in pupils' learning. It facilitates the transition of pupils between schools and phases of education and provides a foundation for lifelong learning.

To promote public understanding

The National Curriculum increases public understanding of, and confidence in, the work of schools and in the learning and achievements resulting from compulsory education. It provides a common basis for discussion of educational issues among lay and professional groups, including pupils, parents, teachers, governors and employers.

Developing the school curriculum

While these four purposes do not change over time, the curriculum itself cannot remain static. It must be responsive to changes in society and the economy, and changes in the nature of schooling itself. Teachers, individually and collectively, have to reappraise their teaching in response to the changing needs of their pupils and the impact of economic, social and cultural change. Education only flourishes if it successfully adapts to the demands and needs of the time.

Appendix 5-2: English School 1

ETHOS AND VALUES OF THE SCHOOL

The educational programme of the school involves the spiritual, moral, intellectual, social, cultural, physical and emotional development of the pupil. The objectives therefore, are basically to:-

* Provide an equal opportunity for each child to achieve his or her full potential in learning.

* Create a happy and caring environment in which each child can work and enjoy learning.

* Encourage all children to learn the merits and importance of courtesy, good manners and consideration for others and to develop self-confidence, respect and self-discipline.

DISCIPLINE

Discipline is an important part of our lives and begins in sensible routine. School rules are few, since we believe that, by being insistent on good manners and consideration for others, children quickly become aware of their responsibilities to themselves and others.

We prefer to rely on praise rather than to punish, but there are time when punishment is necessary. On such occasions, this usually takes the form of loss of privileges. Positive behaviour is encouraged by using our House Point system

PASTORAL CARE

The word 'pastoral' is derived from the Latin 'pastor', meaning shepherd, and 'pastor' today usually refers to someone who offers spiritual guidance. School staff, however, provide a wider meaning by acting as a competent shepherd would in fully caring for all those attracted to their Anglican primary school.

This is a caring school and staff work towards the achievement of happiness for all pupils, so that the children's educational and social progress can be maximised in such an environment.

Parents play an equally vital role in this development, and it is important that school and parents work closely in harmony to reach these goals for the children. Opportunities are always available for discussion and consultation.

Appendix 5-3: English School 2

THE SCHOOL'S AIMS - A broad based curriculum

The School aims to

- allow each child to experience success at his or her level
- provide opportunities for children to reach their full potential
- provide an experience that is wide and varied without being superficial
- meet children's needs as they move through the education system preparing for life in the twenty first century
- help pupils to develop lively, enquiring minds and high self esteem so that problems are seen as a challenge to be solved rather than as a signal to give up
- encourage children to use mathematics and language effectively and to find pleasure in their use
- develop a scientific approach
- foster a sense of wonder and responsibility for the natural world around us
- make children aware of their 'heritage' and of the world into which they will emerge as adults
- develop an awareness of human achievement in the arts and explore a variety of media in order to express creativity and imagination
- instil a respect for religious, moral and spiritual values both in ourselves and others; more specifically maintaining a Christian framework and upholding Christian principles.
- encourage a range of social skills that allow a child to take up his or her place in society.

Appendix 5-4: English School 3

THE SCHOOL

is a Voluntary Aided Roman Catholic Primary School situated in the Redland area of Bristol. The school opened in 1974 having moved from the old Pro Cathedral School,

There are at present six classes in the school: three infant and three junior. Infants and juniors enjoy separate outside play areas.

At present children are accepted at the school who are four years old on 31 August. Children can be accepted up to the age of transfer to secondary school.

is a small caring school, where pupils are known and valued as individuals.

All children are expected to give of their best, both in and out of the classroom and to strive for that personal excellence which brings fulfilment.

The school aims:-

to make prayer, worship and liturgy real educational experiences and to contribute successfully to the development of faith of each individual: (1)

to ensure that the children's experience of relationships within the school has a formative and significant influence on their understanding of relationships:

to create dynamic relationships involving home, parish and school and in this way to prepare our children for entry into the wider community:

to ensure that the curriculum provides a Catholic Christian setting in which our children can grow in understanding and in the acquisition of skills, attitudes and values:

to show concern for all the teaching staff together with the non-teaching staff, parents and children.

ADMISSIONS

The admission of new pupils to the school is a matter for the Governors. Admissions will be determined according to the following criteria, which appear in order of descending priority. If it is necessary to decide between applications within a particular category, then the shortest "safe" walking distance between home and school will be the determining factor.

(i) Catholic children who already have a brother or sister attending the school:

Appendix 5-5: English School 4

Values and Aims of the School

At School we set out to create a learning community where children not only learn the skills and content of the National Curriculum to a high standard but which also nurtures their growth into sociable, caring people. We want them to develop a set of positive personal values: truthfulness; respect for others; and an understanding of the obligations a person has to the communities in which s/he lives and works. We want to nurture an appreciation of our nation's rich democratic and cultural traditions, so beginning a child's journey towards positive citizenship. These values, which we hope children will learn, both from teaching and example, have informed our list of aims for the school.

These are:

To create a happy, secure, well-ordered and caring environment in which effective teaching and learning can take place.

To develop self-confidence, self-esteem and independence in our children.

To encourage the social growth and development of our children.

To teach a balanced and broad programme in tune with the demands of the National Curriculum.

To expect the very highest standards of effort and work.

To expect the very highest standards of courtesy to and from all members of our community.

To treat all children as individuals with needs to be met.

To encourage a spirit of inquiry and respect for learning.

To provide equality of opportunity for all, regardless of sex, race or disability.

To develop an awareness of, and respect for, differences amongst people, races and religions.

Appendix 5-6: An E-School 4 letter

SCHOOL

Dear Parents / Carers

BEHAVIOUR AT SCHOOL

In response to written and verbal comments from the OFSTED inspection team, the school staff have been reviewing policies and procedures that are concerned with the children's behaviour in non-lesson times, including before and after school. A small percentage of the children's behaviour was described as 'boisterous' and that is in line with the perceptions of teaching and support staff. ***The comment applies to a small minority of children but there are issues that need to be addressed.***

I am writing to inform you of our actions and in a spirit of co-operation in the interests of our children. The staff are taking great pains to reinforce good manners towards adults and other children alike. Good manners are not always in evidence! We expect:-

- ***adults to be addressed politely, by name;***
- ***children to do what they are asked by all the school staff first time;***
- ***common courtesies to observed and reinforced e.g. allowing adults and those leaving the building to pass first, assisting where necessary and caring for others' and school property.***

Please join us in explaining and reinforcing this. We will take every opportunity to celebrate the children's cooperation but will not hesitate to inform parents of serious rudeness and misbehaviour.

BEFORE AND AFTER SCHOOL

I have been worried about poor behaviour out of school times for a while.. We are responsible for children for ten minutes before and after school. Please do not allow unaccompanied children to arrive early or stay late. I do not wish to spoil the relaxed atmosphere after school but children who stay on must be under the ***active supervision of their parents / carers.*** Unsupervised children should go straight home. Please do not arrange to collect children later in the afternoon in the expectation that they will 'hang around' at school. This is happening frequently . I am emphasising the importance of supervising children because of a number of recent incidents of unacceptable and unsafe behaviour e.g.

- ***A child, old enough to know better, urinated by a tree on the field***
- ***A neighbour complained that three small children were balancing along the boundary wall nearly three metres high***

This would not happen during school time and emphasises the need for children to be properly supervised. I much appreciate the efforts of parents helping after school e.g at a tea afternoon and would ask that other parents assist by supervising their children whilst helpers are busy.

While children are on the school's premises they must observe school rules.

I look forward to the support of parents and carers in these matters.

Appendix 6: Documentation

English 6-1 to 6-4

Chinese 6-5 to 6-6

Appendix 6-1

School 1 - No rules

Appendix 6-2

School 2 - *The School 2 Code*: Play sensibly where you are allowed to go; Look after property and possessions; Be careful moving around the school; Be friendly by being kind; Be polite

Appendix 6-3

School 3 - *Children are expected at all times*: to exercise self-discipline; to be well-behaved; to be polite; and to be well-mannered.

In the Dining Hall: Always enter the hall quietly and calmly; Do not push, shove, or queue jump; Always walk to your place; Eat politely showing consideration for others; Talk quietly; Leave the hall in an orderly manner

Appendix 6-4

School 4 - *Golden Rules*: Do be gentle, don't hurt anybody; Do be kind and helpful, don't hurt people's feelings; Do be honest, don't cover up the truth; Do work hard, don't waste time; Do look after property, don't waste or damage things; Do listen to people, don't interrupt; Do tell somebody if you are unhappy.

School 4 - *Playground Rules*: Don't come inside unless you have permission; Remember to say sorry if you accidentally hurt someone; Be aware of others around you and take care; Be polite and courteous; Balls are to be no bigger than a tennis ball (Your own balls must be named.); Play appropriately in the different areas of the playground; Misbehaviour will be reported; Good behaviour will be acknowledged.

Appendix 6-5: The unified Chinese school rules

1. Love of the motherland, love of the people, and love of the Party. Study well, make progress everyday.
2. Be on time for school, do not miss lessons wantonly. Be attentive in class, accomplish assignments conscientiously.
3. Keep up physical exercise, take an active part in extracurricular activities.
4. Pay attention to hygiene, keep clothing clean and tidy, do not spit.
5. Love of physical labour, do everything you can.
6. Lead a thrifty life, treasure food, do not be choosy about food and clothes, don't spend money extravagantly.
7. Observe the school rules and public order.
8. Respect teachers, be on good terms with fellow pupils, be polite to others, don't swear, don't come to blows.
9. Be concerned about the collective, take care of public property, don't pocket things you pick up.
10. Be honest and brave, don't tell lies, be ready to amend faults.

Appendix 6-6: Code of Conduct for Chinese primary pupils

1 Respect the old and love the young, love fellow pupils fraternally, and treat people equally; offer help to people in difficulty and disabled people; and respect the habits of other ethnic groups.

2 Respect teachers and when meeting teachers, make a salute, take the initiative to greet teachers, and address teachers with a respectful form, not teachers' names.

3 Show filial respect to parents, concern for parents' health, and help parents with their housework of one's own accord; accept parents' and elders' correct instructions; and greet parents when leaving or returning home.

4 Treat people politely; speak with civility and speak *Putonghua* (Mandarin Chinese) and use polite terms; knock before entering others' rooms and don't enter without permission; don't disturb others' work, study or rest; and don't come to blows and don't swear.

5 Be polite, warm and natural and poised towards foreign visitors, and do not crowd to look on or tail behind them.

Appendix 7: Two lessons of Chinese and a letter of translation verification

Appendix 7-1: A Chinese Lesson by Mrs SJ

Appendix 7-2: A Chinese Lesson by Mrs LJ

Appendix 7-3: A letter of verification

Appendix 7-1

A Lesson of Chinese by Mrs SJ (C-School 1)

28 Dec.1998

This was the first lesson observed, right after the interview. On the way to the classroom, Mrs SJ (T1) told me that she had already informed the class of my coming and the purpose of my visit.

10.00am

Monitor: Stand up!

Class: (Standing up) Good morning, Teacher!

T1: Good morning, Class! Sit down, please! Today we are going to continue the 23rd lesson of characterisation 'The Youth Runtu' by Luxun. Who'd like to tell us something about what this article is all about, according to your preview of the text? WY.

WY (standing up): The 23rd lesson is an article of characterisation and narration by the means of the first person. It centres on the Youth Runtu unfolding a vivid characterisation. *The time* was the first month of the Chinese lunar year 30 years before; *the place* was *my home* and *the character* was Runtu.

T1: Good! Please be seated. Anybody want to add anything? ZK.

ZK: The article of 'The Youth Runtu' is one of lyric narration by the means of the first person. At the first sight, you see the title of the article 'The Youth Runtu' – Runtu, the character. The time was the first month of the Chinese lunar year 30 years before, the very happy days when 'I' was accompanied by Runtu.

T1: Good! Sit down, please. (To the class) Did she (ZK) say anything different from WY? ZM.

ZM: ZK added the main content of the article.

T1: Anybody else? MQ.

MQ: WY considered it as an article of narration while ZK said it was one of lyric narration.

T1: Well done! We will find out which of them has made an accurate comment after we study the text. Now, after reading the article, what is your first impression? TL, can you tell me?

TL: My first impression is the author was from a very rich family and his friend was a son of a servant working at the author's home.

T1: That's right. Sit down, please. Something about the relation between Runtu and the author. Anything else? LX.

LX: Runtu told the author lots of things that he had never seen and heard of in the large courtyard of his home.

T1 (interrupts): Good! What are the things then?

LX: Catching birds, keeping watch in the melon fields, picking up shells, etc.

T1: These are the things that Luxun and children like Luxun from rich families never saw, because every day they lived in a large courtyard where they 'could only see a small sky like a square'. Now I'd like you all to find out where this line is in the text. We'll see who is the first. (4 seconds later) OK. WY is the first to find it out. Next, please could every one of you read by yourself the whole paragraph that contains the quoted line.

(Everybody reads it.)

...

T1: Now let's read it once in unison.

(The class read it all together.)

'...Tamen buzhidao yixie shi [...They do not know some things...]...'

...

T1: Very good! Can anybody tell me what the 'Gaoqiangxia sijiao tiankong [a square sky from within the courtyard surrounded by high walls on all four sides]' refers to? GF.

GF: This means that before Runtu came, the author and the children of the author's kind stayed all day in the large courtyard with high walls, just like a frog in a well, and could not see the world outside.

T1 (interrupts): A frog in a well, a very good metaphor.

GF (continues): while Runtu used to go to the seaside and do many interesting things. The author admires Runtu's joyful life.

T1: Well done, all of you. Those things that Runtu used to do are what the author and his friends felt strange and admired. Now what I want you to tell me is how many sections we can divide this text into and what the gist is in each case. Please all of you think about it and everybody needs to answer it mentally. (4 minutes later) OK. Are you ready? Please be brave to give your answers and it doesn't matter if you give a wrong answer. YHQ .

YHQ: I think it can be divided into five sections. The first paragraph is the first section and it is about the boy Runtu in 'my' memory; the second paragraph itself is

the second section and it is about Runtu as a helper in my home; the third paragraph is the third section and it is about Runtu becoming 'my' friend; the fourth section is the part from Paragraph 5 to 16 and it is about many things 'I' and Rutu did together; and the 17th paragraph is the fifth section, telling that since Runtu returned to his home later, the author never saw him again.

T1: To YHQ's five section divisions, anyone of you want to add anything? WT.

WT: I don't think her second section is correctly divided. The second section should include both the second and third paragraphs, which tells that Runtu's father allowed Runtu to help in 'my' home with the family memorial ceremony of offering sacrifices to 'our' ancestors.

T1: YHQ, what would you like to say about WT's different opinion from yours?

YHQ: I don't think the third paragraph should be included in the second section. The second paragraph tells that 'we' need Runtu to help with the memorial ceremony and the third paragraph starts with 'Father agreed', which indicates this paragraph forms a connecting link between the preceding and the following paragraphs. So it should be put into the second section.

ZW: I don't agree with YHQ. The second and third paragraph can't be separated. The second paragraph tells that 'my' family wanted Runtu to help and meanwhile 'I' wanted to meet Runtu, but it doesn't mention whether Father agrees or not. At the very beginning of the third paragraph it starts with 'Father agreed'. So, the second and third paragraphs are both about the decision of Runtu's coming to help.

T1: ZY, what is your opinion?

ZY: I agree with ZW.

T1: Anybody's got any different point of view about this?

Class: No.

T1: It seems that everybody agrees to the idea of putting both the second and third paragraphs together as the second section. Now who'd like to completely summarise the second section? All right. ZR.

ZR: 'My' family was short of hands with the memorial ceremony and wanted Runtu to help. 'My' father agreed.

T1: Good! Now the third section. ZM.

ZM: The third section should include the fourth and fifth paragraphs and it tells that 'I' met Runtu for the first time.

T1: The third section includes the fourth and fifth paragraphs and it tells that 'I' met Runtu for the first time. What about the fourth section? WY.

WY: From 6^{th} to 16^{th} paragraph. It tells how 'I' and Runtu picked up shells, caught birds and kept watch in the melon fields.

T1: Any different opinion? LJD.

LJD: I agree to the division of this section, but not the gist of the section. It tells that Runtu told 'me' a lot of strange things I had never seen and unforgettable.

T1: All right. Then the seventeenth paragraph is the fifth section, isn't it?

Class: Yeah.

T1: This time, you've all done a much better job in dividing the sections. Why is it so? Is there any knack of doing it? MJ.

MJ: I referred to the exercises at the end of the text when I previewed the lesson.

T1: Good! This does help make a more accurate division of the sections. It seems that we can't overlook the exercises at the end when we preview the lesson and learn to use the prompts to find the basis for dividing the sections. Have you all got it?

Class: Yeah.

T1: Next, I'll ask someone to completely recount the division of the sections of this text and the gist of each of the sections. LD.

LD: The whole text is divided into five sections. The first section is the first paragraph, describing a boy Runtu in my memory; the second section includes the second and the third paragraphs, telling that Father agrees to have Runtu as a helper; the third section includes the fourth and fifth paragraph, depicting the first meeting with Runtu; the fourth section includes 11 paragraphs from the sixth to the sixteenth paragraph, talking about the stories told by Runtu about catching birds, keeping watch in the melon fields and picking up shells; and the fifth section is the last paragraph, telling that Runtu was brought away by his father.

T1: Very good. Then in what order is the article written? This is very important. LZY.

LZY: I think the article was written in chronological order of recollections. The first paragraph describes how Runtu caught birds; the second paragraph describes that Runtu and 'I' were together for the time of the first month of the Chinese lunar year 30 years before; finally it tells us that his father took Runtu home.

T1 (interrupts): They never saw each other again afterwards?

LZY: No.

T1: That means [prompting the class to speak out the rest of her words]...

Class: ...it is written according to the categorisation of the content character.

T1: Good! Now please look at the first section. Please everybody read it quickly first and find out which part of the exercise conforms to this first section. Now!

(Class read silently for 3 minutes.)

T1: OK. What is described in the first section? Who'd like to answer it? ZX.

ZX: The first section is the description of Runtu's appearance, which complies with the features of characterisation.

T1: Good! Sit down, please. Then the features of characterisation we learned in the fourth unit include [prompting the class to finish the rest of her words]...(Class: The appearance and the inner world of the character.) Good! The first section is just the description of Runtu's appearance. Then what are the features of his appearance? Please take out your pens and underline the words, phrases or sentences that describe Runtu's appearance and discuss in groups.

(Group discussion in groups of four at two close desks, 4 minutes)...

T1: OK. Who'd like to speak first? YY.

YY: Looking at 'Runtu holds a metal fork' and 'keeping watch in the melon fields at night', we can see a very brave and capable boy who helps support the family.

LQ: From the description, we can see a seaside countryside youth, artless, active, lovely and capable.

T1: Characterisation comes from the description of the appearance and inner world of the character, but can we see the character's inner world? (Class: No, we can't.). Then through what do we understand the character's inner world? Through what?

Girl 1: The appearance.

T1: What is appearance then? What aspects does appearance include? GW.

GW: Appearance includes the language, manner, action and clothing.

T1: Good! All we can see and feel are the appearance of the character. Then what shows Runtu's bravery and capability? HXY.

HXY: The metal fork. He's only twelve years old and able to hold a metal fork to catch the melon eating badger-like animal, which indicates he's physically very strong. We now are at his age, but it would be very difficult for us to hold a metal fork. He could see a melon eating badger-like animal in a distance in the dark, which means he was well trained by his father to be very capable.

T1: Good! Anybody else? LY:

LY: Combining the preceding sentences, we can see Runtu looked after a huge melon field, which shows he's very brave and capable.

T1: It is very good for LY to take the preceding sentences into consideration. Next, on the basis of the understanding of the text, we are going to read the text with emotions. Bear in mind the two pictures. One is the beautiful night scenery and the other is soul-stirring scene of a youth holding a metal fork and throwing it fiercely at the melon eater, badger-like animal. Read the text thinking of the two pictures. with different emotions and try to get the feeling of them.

(Everybody reads the part of the text.)...

T1: Now the whole class read the text together.

(A girl leads the class by reading the first sentence and collective reading follows):

'Shenlanse de tiankongzhong guazhe yilun jinhuang de yuanyue, xiamian shi haibian de shadi, zhongzhe yipian bilu de xigua...[In the dark blue sky, there hangs a golden

round moon. Below is the seaside sand field, where grows a stretch of dark green watermelons...]

(Three individual readings follow the collective reading, respectively by Girl 2, Boy 1 and Girl 3 and then T1 and the class read together once.)

T1: The two illustrations in the text look motionless, but when you have really understood them, they become living, rolling on scene by scene in your mind like a movie. Finally let's read the text in unison again.

(Class read the text and the bell rings before the end of reading.)

T1: That's all for today. Now class is over.

Class: Goodbye, teacher!

Appendix 7-2

A Chinese lesson by Mrs LJ (C-School 3)

12.30am, 23rd Dec.1998

(for verification of translation)

This is a sample lesson which is typical of pedagogical emphasis, but useful, however, in the justification of choosing a lesson of class meeting as focus. The English translation of this text was officially certified by Robert Bennett, Lecturer in Chinese-English translation, Modern Languages Department, University of Bath (a letter of verification attached).

Key:

T: teacher

P: pupil

P1: Pupil 1

P2: Pupil 2

....: omission

C: class

M: monitor

(...): inaudible

{ }: talking overlap

[ ]: researcher's explanation

T: Class begins.

M: Stand up!

C: Good morning, Teacher!

T: Good morning, Class! Sit down, please!

Today, we are going to have the last text - The First Snowfall.

(Silent for 16 seconds, children coughing)

Can we tell from the type of the text what lesson we are having today?

C: A lesson of Reading Comprehension.

T: Yeah. Reading Comprehension (writing down on the blackboard). So have you all previewed it yet?

C: Yes.

T: Good. Then Teacher [Teachers sometimes just call themselves Teacher instead of the first person 'I'] would like to see who can find out in the text what are the descriptions of the snow-falling and 'post-snow' scenes. Quickly, OK? Already previewed it, haven't you. (One pupil raising hand.) Li Xia (P1).

P1: They are in Paragraphs 3 to 5.

T: Tell us first what describes the snow-falling scene.

P1: Hmm, it is the third paragraph.

T: All agreed or not (loudly)?

C: Yes.

T: (To P1) What about the 'post-snow'?

P1: The fourth and fifth.

T: The fourth and fifth paragraphs (with hesitated tone), (to class) agreed?

C: Yes.

T: Hmm. The fourth and fifth (with uncertainty). OK. Be seated. (To class) What does the author associate the first snowfall with? Jiang Xiaoli [P2] (T sees her raising hand).

P2: The author associates the first snowfall with 'A timely snow promises a good harvest'.

T: Hmm, with the common saying 'A timely snow promises a good harvest', right?

C: Yes.

T: Then what feeling of the author is expressed in the text? (A pupil raising hand) Wang Fang [P3].

P3: This text expresses the author's favour of the first snowfall.

T: Xi ai [Favour], xi yue [enjoyment] [Teacher did not point out P3 used an inappropriate word, which is a synonym], right (to class)?

C: Yeah.

T: Well, it seems you have done all well, very well regarding the three questions I asked just now. It is obvious you did a solid job on the preview work. For this period of class, our main task is reading the text aloud and comprehending the content of the text, as it is a reading lesson. And then we'll come to Exercise 1 at the back of this text to paragraph the text accurately and summarise the main points of those paragraphs. Have you all got the study task of this class?

C: Yes.

T: OK. Now everyone freely read the text once and remove the obstacles of new words and phrases, and then you'll be able to read it fluently and proficiently.

(Everyone reads. Teacher checking around. Three minutes later all stop.)

T: Finished?

C: Yes.

T: Alright. Go to Exercise 1 at the back.

(Book page turning noise and children coughing.)

T: With the question of this exercise in your mind, who would like to read the text to the class fluently? Remember my requirement, to read it once **fluently**. (Teacher counting raised hands) One, two, three. Preview work has been done over the last few days [which means: why are there only three of you]. Han Jianxia [P4].

P4: No 20 (sequential number of the text).

T: {Everyone listen with the question in mind.}

P4: (starts reading the text) No 20. The First Snowfall [title of the text]

Qian ji tian [The other day], ...

... reading continues.

T: Hmm, very good! Sit down. But two characters [a character is an equivalent of a word in English] were not accurately pronounced. Why? Because they are characters with multiple pronunciations. How should you pronounce them?

C: Huo (with a rising tone) [It should be the neutral tone, so all are wrong].

T: Neutral tone - Huo [Teacher's is a better tone, but not purely accurate, though she is correcting them]. And what is the other one?

C: Shi de.

T: What [Say it again.]?

C: Shi de.

T: Just now she read it as Si de. Si hu [another phrase, where the character should be pronounced as Si, not Shi], Shi de [using the one in the text to compare]. These two were not pronounced accurately because they are too difficult to distinguish, so it is quite normal [comforting P4]. Just now, Han Jianxia read the text as fluently as I required, didn't she?

C: Yes.

T: Now please divide the text as required in '1' [Exercise No.1] following

the text and state the reasons why you do so. Hmm, as you've all just read the text, don't hesitate to give your opinions [encouraging the class].

(noises of book-page turning and coughing lasting 15')

T: Many of you are working hard dividing the text. But some of you seem to have nothing to do, have you finished? (Then to class) How is it going? Finished [pushing the class]?

(Somebody replying 'No.')

T: Well, not yet. Then hurry up, OK?

(Silence for 20')

T: Finished?

C: Yes.

T: Who'd like to have a go? (Seeing P1 raising her hand) Li Xia.

P1: I divide this text into four sections. The first two paragraphs are the first section; the third paragraph is the second section; the fourth and fifth are the third section and the sixth and seventh are the fourth section.

T: Hmm! Then what is your basis?

P1: Er..., the first two paragraphs are about the pre-snowfall scene; the third paragraph describes the scene during the snowfall; the fourth and fifth are about the post-snow scene and the sixth and seventh are about what the author associates the snow with.

T: Those in favour of Li Xia's divisions, raise your hands.

(Almost all raising hands)

T: All in favour! Anyone disagree? You all share the same?

(a couple of children saying 'Yes.')

T: [confirming] The same, right?

C: Yes.

T: OK, then, this text should be divided into...[question tone asking the class for co-operation]

C: Four sections.

T: They are: pre-snow,

C: During-snow,

T: Post-snow, [prompting the class] as well as...association from the snow

C: { Post-snow }

C: { association }...

T: Now I'd like you to read attentively the two sections of 'during-snow' and 'post-snow', and then tell how Yuan Qing, the author, features the 'during-snow' and 'post-snow' scenes. Read carefully to get the features. (some reading aloud) Reading silently, OK?

(T talks to individuals in a soft voice and offers instruction and help)

(3' later)

T: Finished? Please sit up. I'd like to have one of you to read the section 'during-snow' and the rest of you listen up carefully to get the during-snow features the author describes. Wang Fang [P5], you read it.

P5: 'When the snow starts falling...' (P5 starts to read)

T: Hmm [with satisfaction], who'd like to say something about the author's description of the 'during-snow' features? Ma Xiaojuan [P6].

P6: [The author] describes the scene of the snow flakes falling.

T: Oh [I'm with you.], [the author] describes the snow-falling-down scene. Who else has got anything to add? (Seeing her raising hand) Li Dong [P7].

P7: [He] also describes the scene of large snow flakes drifting down.

T: Large snow flakes, which means

C: {The snow was heavy. }

T: the first snowfall, the first snowfall, how is the first snowfall in the Jiaodong Peninsula?

C: Heavy.

T: The author stresses the feature of 'during snow', snow falling

C: {heavily}

T: very heavily to describe the scene. And in how many aspects does the author describe the heavy snow? Look at my brackets (Two lines are in two pairs of brackets on the blackboard) and you will know how many aspects. Liu Xiaole [P8].

P8: Two aspects.

T: What are they?

P8: The first aspect is that he [the author] uses the phrase 'feathery flakes' to indicate large snow flakes, and

T: {Oh, wait a minute. I have to interrupt you, Ah [apologising tone and facial expression]!}. But how does the author know the flakes are 'feathery'?

P8: He sees them.

T: He sees them, sees them with his own eyes. He catches sight of them, doesn't he?

C: Yes.

Ph: Another aspect is the time - 'The ground turns white in no time.' [P8 quotes the text.]

T: Oh, '...soon turns white.' This is also what the author... [long tone for the class to fulfil what she is going to say, all for T/C co-operation]

C: {sees}

T: sees. What else? Besides 'seeing', the sense of feeling, through what else does the author know? Ma Yingyan [P9].

P9: Hears (...) [this pupil can not pronounce the difficult two-word phrase and she is reading the phrase incorrectly in low voice.] sound.

T: What sounds does he hear? Find out those phrases describing the sounds.

C: (Many of them say the phrase simultaneously) 'Rustling sound'.

T: Oh, light snow-falling sound but enormously heavy snow. The winter mountainous village is particularly quiet. It is audible, isn't it? And the 'creak' sound

C: {'creak' sound}

T: of thick snow

covered branches breaking. The heavy snow is seen

C: {seen}

T: by the author himself, and heard

C: {heard}

T: by

the author himself. Thus it is described as a very heavy snow.

C: {heavy snow}

T: Now you take a look at the 'post snow' by using the same philosophy. The snow stops the following morning, doesn't it? Then as for the 'post snow' scene, what features does the author describe? As 'the snow is exceptionally heavy' is the description of the scene of snow falling, what about the scene of 'post snow'? You've all just studied it. Su Xiaowei (P10).

P10: ' Snow is thick ' is the description of the 'post snow'.

T: Snow is thick. 'Snow is thick' is virtually 'snow heavy'. ' Snow is thick '. Hmm [Not bad]! But it is not the main feature. Think it over. Think it over and read very carefully.

(A voice saying 'snow white')

T: 'Snow white'. Hmm [nodding her head]! 'White'. It is indeed a world dressed in white. Yang Chao (P11).

P11: The scene of 'snow beauty' is the description of the 'post snow'.

T: 'Snow beauty'. What is snow? Snow is a beautiful scenery bestowed by nature, isn't it?

C: Yeah.

T: Then, what is the 'post snow' scene like? As Yang Chao (P11) said, it is so beautiful.

Now children, read this part softly to feel the feature of the 'post snow' beauty.

(Class read softly)

T: All right. Teacher will read it once and you listen carefully.

(T reads the text with emotion.)

T: (When finished, she asks the class) Isn't it beautiful?

C: It is!

T: Exceptionally beautiful! And the description of the beautiful scenery is both static and dynamic.

C: {Dynamic}

T: You now quickly find out what belongs to static description and what belongs to dynamic description. We'll see who is the quickest.

(Class are working on it, and then)

T: We'll see who is going to be the quickest. Wow! Ma Xiaojuan (P6) is the first. Well, Ma Xiaojuan, tell us.

P6: 'Static description' is the part from 'Wow! What a heavy snow' to '... piled up with heavy snowballs'; and 'dynamic description' is the part from ' A gust of wind comes blowing...' to '...a multicoloured rainbow...'.

T: 'Yi dao dao' (repeating to correct P6's 'yi dao'), isn't it?

C: Yes.

T: Absolutely right. Er, first the author sees the 'static state' - everything is static, and then 'A gust of wind comes blowing' turns the static scene into a dynamic one.

C: [dynamic}

T: Isn't the scene beautiful?

C: It is.

T: The combination of 'Dynamic' and 'static' describes the post-snow beautiful scenery of nature. The post-snow scenery is beautiful, and what about people after the snowfall? Please read together the first line 'Da jie shang [On the street]...', yi er [one, two].

(Class read together 'Da jie shang...')

T: Look at the inserted picture. What are the post-snow people like, especially the children? Wang Fang [P3].

P3: The post-snow children are joyful.

T: Joyful. From what can we see they are joyful? Hmm? From what description in the text and also from what in the picture?

(P3 repeats 'joyful', the same answer, but ignored) Hmm! Jiang Xiaoli [P2].

P2: From that 'joyful shouting' in the text we can tell they are joyful,

T: {Hmm [Good]!}

P2: And back in the picture 'the children are piling up snowmen' and 'having snowball fights', both of which tell us clearly they're joyful.

T: As adults see the children so lively and cheerful, they feel very happy, don't they?

C: Yes.

T: So, the scenery is beautiful and how are the people?

C: [Unanimously] The people are more beautiful [The class complete the traditional saying 'The mountain is beautiful, the water is beautiful and the people are more beautiful', but they don't seem to follow the teacher's. Maybe the teacher should not ask for the answer with that misleading tone and in this wrong context.]

T: Is it 'the people are more beautiful'? Is it here describing the beauty of people? The answer should be 'happy and jubilant', shouldn't it? So the right phrase will be 'Jing Mei' [Scene is beautiful] and

(A few of them shout 'Ren huan le [People are joyful]', but there is one character too many and it has to be a two-word phrase to be balanced with the former two-word phrase)

Ren huan [People are joyful]', isn't it? 'Huan' means 'huan le'. That is how the author describes the 'during snow' and the 'post snow', and there are also the key points of the text that we are required to master. Now we look back to see what it is that brings the heavy snow to the Jiaodong Peninsula, namely, What reason. Let's read together the first section, that is the first two paragraphs. Pay attention to the sense of group. 'Qian tian, qi xiang tai...[The day before yesterday, the Meteorological Observatory...]' - Yi er [One, two].

(The class read together)

T: Just now you read 'nuan huo' mistakenly as 'nuan he'. One or two of you, ah (correcting her saying of 'you'). Another phrase was 'zhou ran bian leng le', which means it suddenly becomes cold. When you came to this phrase, you halted, which

seemed that the preview task was not particularly solid. Well, who could tell Teacher what factors the author mainly tells us here before the snow, namely, what

is the cause of this snow? Jiang Xiaohan [P2] [This was her third time to answer a question.].

P2: (...), the author mainly tells us (she goes on saying) 'Zai qian tian, zai xia xue qian de qiantian, en, cong xibo, xiboliya lai de hanliu, dengdao zuotian yihou, zhege tian, tiankong, en, tianqi jiu bian leng le [on the day before yesterday, on the day before the snow, er, a cold current from Sib, Siberia, till yesterday onwards, this weather, sky, hmm, the climate thus became cold.]'

T: You must, you must speak in a straightforward way. Well, the first factor is when the cold air strikes. Before the snow, the cold air from Siberia hit the Jiaodong Peninsula. Any idea where the Jiaodong Peninsula is?

(Some say No.)

T: Don't know (surprised)! This is geographic knowledge. It is in the Shandong Province of our country. The Shandong province is on a peninsula, so its full name is the Jiaodong Peninsula. Do you get it now? Then the cold air is the important cause of this snowfall. After the cold air hits the area, how does the weather change? It is what we have experienced here every year. Yu Xian (Pl).

Pl: The cold wind.

T: The piercingly cold wind, not the warm spring wind. What is this description of nature, then?

C: Weather.

T: The meteorological change before the snow. Now I'd like one of you to read the ending of the text and you will have to think about the meaning of 'Rui xue zhao feng nian'. OK, Li Xia [P1] read it.

(P1 reads the last paragraph.)

T: Well, one character mispronounced and one missed. '- -' should be read as 'shen chu' rather than 'sen chu'. Now please think, 'Rui xue zhao feng nian' is the author's what?

C: Association.

T: This is

Some: {A proverb}; others: {A common saying}

T: Hmm, stop arguing, but your arguing is very normal. 'rui xue...

C: Z{hao feng nian} (The children say offhandedly the rest of the phrase, but get it wrong, Teacher is just about to explain the first two-character part.)

T: 'rui xue' means a timely 'heavy snow'.

C: {heavy snow}

T: And 'zhao' refers to 'sign'; 'feng nian' means 'harvest year'. Then all put together, it will be 'The timely heavy snow

C: {is the sign of a harvest year next year}

T: is the sign of a harvest year next year, isn't it?

C: Yes.

T: Then what is this called?

Some: A common saying.

Others: A proverb.

T: What? Are they the same or different? Now listen carefully. 'Common saying' and 'proverb' share a feature in common. They both are accumulated on the basis of the working people's life experience and created with a set formation of language. This is something in common. The difference is that 'common saying' is the reflection of people's experience and wishes, such as 'The low flying swallow has a rain to follow' or 'One swallow does not make a summer', while 'proverb' is different. It is the simple daily life words that people use to reflect profound philosophy, such as 'Shishang wu nan shi, zhiyao ken dengpan' [Nothing in the world is difficult for one who sets his mind on it.]. So are they same or not?

C: No.

T: Do you understand now?

C: Yes.

T: When such a thing happens again next time, are you going to argue again?

C: No more.

T: Good. Now we continue our discussion. Does the author have any scientific foundations for his association of the 'Ruixue zhao fengnian'?

C: Yes.

T: What are they? Now you are going to be divided into four groups to find out his scientific foundation.

(Class discuss in four groups)

T: Now one spokesperson from your group. Hmm, Shi Changjing [P13] is to have a go.

P13: The scientific grounds are: first, the cold wind and heavy snow can freeze injurious insects to death; second, the melted snow penetrates into the soil to suit the needs of the crops' growing.

T: Hmm, very good, sit down. Can anyone add anything? Hmm [cheerfully], Ding Kai [P14].

P14: Experienced old farmers compare snow to a cotton wadded quilt.

T: Why is it compared to a cotton wadded quilt?

P14: Because the thicker the cotton wadded quilt in winter, the better the spring wheat grows in spring.

T: Very good! OK. So far we have basically accomplished the task on the text for this lesson. Now (review of the content just learned) tell the gist of each of the four sections of the text by referring to my blackboard writing but not your books.

(sees Wang Fang [P3] raising hand). I'm sure Wang Fang has got it, but I won't ask her. Ah, Who'd like to be the first? I'm sure Li Xia [P1] can do it well, too. Let's have Ma Liang [P15].

(P15 sums those up with Teacher's and others' help)

T: Have you all mastered what has been learned in this lesson?

C: Yes.

T: All right. That is it, then. Class is over [order to dismiss].

M: Stand up!

C: Laoshi xiuxi [Teacher take a break!]

T: Xiuxi! [Have a break!]

Appendix 7-3: A letter of verification

Translation of Chinese Class Transcript by Yuan Qi

I have examined Yuan Qi's English translation of his Chinese transcript of a class observed at School 3, Xinjiang, China. I can verify that it is an accurate translation of the Chinese and that it is a reliable reference tool for research purposes.

Signed .....
Robert Neather (Lecturer in Chinese translation, University of Bath)

Dated 28th January, 2000.
(28th January, 2000)